SHRI C. D. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, may I point out that we should have lunch and have the debate for tomorrow also?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, I am afraid we shall have to sit through the lunch hour. The number of members who wish to speak on the foreign affairs debate is very large and since I am asking the Prime Minister to give his reply at 12.00 NOON tomorrow because of his previous commitments, I propose that we sit through the lunch hour and, if necessary, we sit a little after 5¹30 P.M. so that most of the Members who want to speak may be able to do

Now, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha.

MOTION RE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—continued.

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह (बिहार) : जनाब सभापति जी, पिछली बार हमारे सदन में मन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति पर जो वहस हुई थी उसके बाद अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में बहत सी ऐसी घटनायें घटी हैं जो बहत ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं और जो भविष्य के इतिहास को प्रभावित करने बाली हैं । ऐसी जो घटनाएं घटी हैं उनमें दो के विशेष स्थान हैं। एक तो ग्रण परीक्षणों के सम्बन्ध में ग्रांशिक रोक लगाने के लिये जो सन्धि हुई है वह एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण विषय है, न सिर्फ हमारे देश की दृष्टि से बल्कि दुनिया के भविष्य की दृष्टि से श्रौर यह चाहे तफसील में बहुत काम की चीज श्रभी नहीं हो, लेकिन जिस दिशा में कदम उठाया गया है बह दिशा विश्व शान्ति के लिये श्रौर विश्व के विकास के लिये सही दिशा है श्रीर हम सब को उसका स्वागत करना चाहिये। लेकिन जहाँ एक ग्रोर कदम उठाया गया है विश्व शान्ति के लिये, जहां एक ग्रोर कदम उठाया गया है विश्व के विकास के लिये, वहां दूसरी ग्रोर एक दूसरी जो महत्वपूर्ण घटना हुई है, जो मान्ति के लिये खतरे की एक ग्राशंका है, वह चीन ग्रौर पाकिस्तान का निकट का

सम्बन्ध और चीन और पाकिस्तान में जो सन्धि हुई है। जहां एक ग्रोर ग्रण परीक्षण सम्बन्धी सन्धि शान्ति का सन्देश देती है वहां चीन और पाकिस्तान के बीच जो सन्धि हुई है वह अशांति की घंटी बजाती है। इसलिये आज हम एक ऐसे मोड पर खड़े हैं जहां शान्ति श्रौर श्रशांति दोनों की कार्यवाहियां हो रही हैं। ऐसी हालत में हमें अपना मार्ग ठीक से 2-देखना ही नहीं चाहिये बल्कि देश का स्पष्ट रूप से मार्ग दर्शन करना चाहिये जिससे सारा देश एक साथ होकर चल सके । दर्भाग्य हमारा यह रहा है कि नीति की जो बात हम कहते रहे हैं, सिद्धान्त की जो बातें हम कहते रहे हैं, उनके बारे में कोई ऐतराज नहीं किया जा सकता है, लेकिन जब उस नीति के पालन का सवाल होता है, जब उन सिद्धान्तों को ग्रमल में लाने का सवाल होता है तो एक ऐसी धुंघ होती है, एक ऐसा श्रंधकार होता है, एक इस तरह की ग्रनिश्चितता होती है जिसके चलते हमारे कदम भी लड्खड़ाते हैं भीर दूसरी बात यह भी होती है कि हम देश को भी नहीं समझा पाते हैं कि हमारे कदम किस दिशा में जाने चाहियें ग्रीर जाते हैं। हम निरपेक्षता की चर्चा बराबर करते रहे हैं श्रौर मैं समझता हूं कि निरपेक्षता की नीति जो है वह देश के लिये सही नीति है, इसके ग्रलावा कोई दूसरी नीति हो नहीं सकती है लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि निरपेक्षता की नीति क्या निष्त्रियता की नीति है, इनएक्टिविटी की नीति है, स्टैंटिक नीति है ? निरपेक्षता की नीति में कोई कियाशीलता है या नहीं, उसमें कोई गतिशीलता है या नहीं ? हम बराबर यह पाते हैं कि उसमें गतिशीलता नहीं रही है, उसमें कियाशीलता नहीं रही है, उसमें जो भविष्य की सम्भावनायें हैं उनको सोच कर जो कदम उठाना चाहिये वह नहीं रहा है, हम आगे पीछे सोचते रहे हैं, एक ही जगह पर बहत बार खड़े रहे हैं जबकि ग्रागे बढ़ने की जरूरत थी। हां, कभी कभी ऐसा होता है कि आगे बढ़ने के लिये पहले बहुत सोचना होता है लेकिन यदि सोचते ही रह जायें कि आगे बढ़ना

[श्री गंगा घरण सिंह]
चाहिये श्रीर बढ़ें नहीं तो उससे सिर्फ मुल्क
को ही नुकसान नहीं होता बल्कि दुनिया को
भी नुकसान होता है।

ग्राज भी हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा ग्रीर इसके पहले भी, कुछ महीने पहले भी, उन्होंने कहा था कि चीन जब जब ताकत में भाया है तब तब उसमें विकासवाद का, विस्तार-वाद का श्रसर हुआ है श्रीर उस नीति को उसने भ्रपनाया है, उस नीति को उसने कारगर किया है। यह श्राज की ही बात नहीं है। पहले भी इतिहास का हवाला उन्होंने दिया था श्रौर श्रतीत का हवाला भ्राज भी उन्होंने दिया । मैं बहुत ग्रदब से कहना चाहता हूं कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर चीन के हमले के बाद चीन का जो विश्लेषण करते हैं, चीन के इतिहास का जो परिणाम निकालते हैं वह श्राज नहीं निका-लना चाहिये था उसके पहले भी निकालना चाहिये था । मैं बहुत श्रदब से उन्हें स्मरण दिलाऊंगा कि इस हाउस में श्रीर दूसरी जगहों पर जब चीन के खतरे का हम जिक्र करते थे तब उस समय हमको पैनिकी कहा जाता था. हमको वार मांगर्स कहा जाता था। उस समय चीन से जो बातें हुईं, चीन से हमारा जो सुलह समझौता हुन्ना उन पर इतना भरोसा किया गया कि जो ग्रागे की सम्भावनायें थीं, जो ग्रतीत के भ्रौर इतिहास के लेसन्स थे उनको हम भल गये, उनसे जो शिक्षा हमको लेनी चाहिये थी वह हम मल गये थे ग्रीर भल ही नहीं गये थे बल्कि जो लोग उनकी तरफ याद दिलाते थे उनको हम एक गलत रास्ता बताने वाला. एक गलत विश्लेषण करने वाला कहते थे श्रौर समझते थे कि वे सिर्फ लड़ाई चाहने वाले हैं, वे चीन के बहत विरोधी हैं, इसलिये वे ऐसी चर्चा करते हैं। मेरा यही कहना है कि आज जैसे हम श्रतीत की, इतिहास की घटनाग्रों से सबक लेकर चीन के बारे में सोचने की सही चेष्टा कर रहे हैं इसी तरह से हमको पड़ले भी करना चाहिये था श्रौर सिर्फ चीन के बारे में ही नहीं दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के बारे में भी हमको

सोचना चाहिये कि हमारी नीति प्राज की परिस्थिति में, पहले की परिस्थिति में ग्रौर भिवष्य की परिस्थिति में ग्रौर भिवष्य की परिस्थिति में कैसे मेल खाती है । हमको सिफं अतीत का ही विश्लेषण नहीं करना चाहिये बल्कि अपनी नीति को निर्धा-रित करते समय जो भविष्य की सम्भावनायें हैं, जो ऐंटीसिपेशन्स हैं, हम आगे जो कोई कदम उठायेंगे उसका क्या ग्राउर होगा, इनके सम्बन्ध में भी हमको सोचना होगा जिसमें कि ग्रागे चल कर हमें पळताना न पड़े कि जो कदम हमने उठाया व गलत कदम था।

मैं ग्रापसे कहना चाहता हूं कि कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों के सम्बन्ध में हमारी सरकार ने जिस उजलत भ्रौर जिस उतावली से स्वीकार करने का निर्णय किया वह कोई बहुत शोभनीय नहीं था । उन प्रस्तावों के सम्बन्ध में जितनी जल्दी से स्वीकृति दी गई उसको न तो मुल्क के लिये, न उस समय के लिये और न आगे के लिये मैं बहुत उचित समझता हं। मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि शायद यह बतलाने के लिये कि हम में ज्यादा समझदारी है, हम में ज्यादा सहन-शीलता है, हम ज्यादा बर्दाश्त करने के हक में हैं, थौर हम बहुत जल्दी मित्रों की बात मान लेते हैं--इस उजलत में बिना सम्भावनायों गौर किये हए हमने कोलम्बो सम्मेलन के प्रस्तावों को मान लिया ग्रपनी समझदारी का सबत देने के लिये—-श्रौर यह कि दनिया के दूसरे देशों के बीच, कोलम्बो प्रोपो-जल्स देने वाले देशों के बीच हमारी कुछ कदर हो ग्रौर चीन एक तरह से ग्राइसोलेट हो. चीन अकेला हो, इसलिये हमने उसको मान लिया। गायद यह भी हमारी नीति रही हो--या यह भी हो सकता है कि चीन ने पाजिटिव रिस्पांस की बात कही श्रीर उस "पाजिटिव रिस्पांस" का चीन दूसरा अर्थ सम-**ज्ञता था श्रौर हमने दूसरा अर्थ सम**ज्ञ लिया---यह भी एक कारण हो सकता था। इन तीनों दुष्टियों से हम विचार करें तो हमें ऐसा लगता है कि उतावली की गई, जल्दी की गई और जो हमारा मंशा था वह सिद्ध नहीं हुन्ना, हमारा मंशा जो था वह हासिल नहीं हुआ। हम क्या देखते हैं ? जहां तक ग्राइसोलेशन का सवाल है, आज ऐसा नहीं लगता है कि जो कोलम्बो पावर्स या एशिया के दूसरे मुल्क या जो दूसरी शक्तियां हैं उनके ग्रौर चीन के बीच में चीन के इंकार करने से, चीन के दविधा करने से कोई ऐसी समस्या उत्पन्न हुई हो, चीन आइसोलेट हुआ हो या उन्होंने चीन के सम्बन्ध में कोई दूसरी नीति अपनाई हो या वे चीन को आक्रमणकारी समझते हों। उसके बाद से हुआ क्या है ? प्रिस सिंचनुक यहां भी **ग्रा**ये थे ग्रौर वह पीकिंग भी गये, वह जब पीकिंग में गये तो पीकिंग में जाकर उन्होंने बयान दिया कि उनका देश बराबर चीन के साथ रहेगा । घना का एक शिष्टमण्डल भी बहां गया । घना हमारा भी मित्र है और चीन का भी मित्र है और अभी जब उसका एक शिष्टमण्डल चीन नया तो शिष्टमण्डल के लोगों ने कहा कि अगर चीन की सार्वभौमिकता पर या चीन के किसी हिस्से पर आक्रमण हुआ, झगड़ा हम्रा, तो हमारा देश सब तरह से चीन का साथ देगा । ग्रभी सीलोन के श्री फेलिक्स भंडारनायके की एक स्पीच निकली है लेकिन उससे भी कुछ ऐसा पता नहीं चलता है कि चीन आइसोलेटेड हो गया है या चीन भाज श्रकेला पड गया है। जहां तक चीन को आइसी-लेट करने का, उसको श्रकेला करने का, सत्राल है उसमें भी हम सफल नहीं हो सके हैं। इसके चलते चलते परिणाम यह हुआ है कि हमारे देश में, चाहे हम मानें या न मानें, ग्राज दो सीज-फायर-लाइन हमारे यहां काम कर रही हैं, एक तो वह जो कि चीन ने श्रपनी तरफ से हमारे ऊपर लादी है यानी चीन की सीज-फायर लाइन श्रीर दूसरी वह जो कि हमने कोलम्बी प्रोपोजल्स के अनुसार कबल कर ली है। इस तरह से आज देश में-- चाहे उनकी शक्ल में थोड़ी ही कमी और बेसी हो-हमारी सीमा में, हमारी टेरिटरी में दो सीज-फायर लाइन झापरेट कर रही है, स्यवहार में भाज ग्रा रही हैं। जो सीज-फायर-लाइन

होती हैं उनका तज़ुर्वा आपको, हमको और सबको बड़ा दुखद है। पिछले वर्षों के इतिहास पर अगर आप गौर करेंगे तो आपको यह पता चलेगा कि ये सोज-फायर लाइन, चाहे कोरिया में हो या फिलिस्तीन में हो या वियतनाम में हो, कहीं की सीज-फायर-लाइन हो, अल्टी-मेटली, अन्त में वही उनकी सीमायें बन जाती हैं---जैसा कि काश्मीर में भी लाग होता है कि वह ही वहां की सीमा शायद हो जाय, टम्पोरेरी सीज-फायर-लाइन टेम्पोरेरी नहीं रहती है। कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल्स को मान कर जो व्यवस्था श्राज है उसको हमने एक तरह से कव्ल कर लिया है, हमने उसको ग्रस्थायी तौर पर, क्षणिक तौर पर किया है लेकिन इतिहास, अनुभव बताता है कि ये चीजें अस्थायी और क्षणिक नहीं होती हैं. स्थायी हो जाती हैं-तो इन प्रोपोजल्स के चलते हम श्रपने देश का कुछ हिस्सा दूश्मन को देते हैं। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि दश्मन ने जो हमला किया, उसने जो ज्यादती की, उस ज्यादती को बर्दाश्त करने की प्रवृत्ति हम जाहिर करते हैं। उसके खिलाफ बगावत करने की, विद्रोह करने की, उनको रोकने की प्रवृत्ति का इस तरह से हास होता है। जो सबसे बड़ा नुकसान हुआ है वह यह है।

मैं तो चाहंगा, मुझे तो प्रसन्नता होगी कि हमारा देश सब का मित्र श्रीर बराबर शान्ति-प्रिय रहे। यह अन्तिम उद्देश्य रहना चाहिये लेकिन शान्तिप्रियता के क्या माने हैं जबकि दृश्मन ने हमारे देश पर हमला किया हो, हमारे हिस्से को दबाये बैठा हो, यह मैं पूछना चाहता हं? मेरा निवदन है कि ऐसे समय में शान्तिप्रियता की बात कहना, शान्ति-त्रियता के सिद्धान्त को बखानना उसका मखौल है, ज्यादती है। इसलिये ग्राज कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल्स के चलते हम ऐसे गोरख धंधे में पड़े गये हैं कि न इस तरफ आ सकते हैं और न उस तरफ जा सकते हैं । हम लोगों ने कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल्स मान लिये लेकिन चीन ने नहीं माना **और उससे समस्या यह पैदा होती है कि** हम पर उसकी जिम्मेदारी है और चीन पर कोई

[श्री गंगा शरण सिंह]

International

जिम्मेदारी नहीं है। श्रगर सोच समझ कर थोड़ा समय लगा कर इस पर विचार किया होता तो कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल्स के बारे में, जिस परिस्थिति में हम आ गये हैं उसमें नहीं आते श्रौर हमारा सम्पूर्ण सोचने का रास्ता, काम करने का रास्ता साफ होता।

पाकिस्तान और चीन के साथ जो समझौता हुया है उसमें ग्रौर चीजों के ग्रलावा श्रभी जो नई बात निकली वह यह कि चीन के हवाई जहाज ग्रीर पाकिस्तान के हवाई जहाज चीन से पाकिस्तान को ग्रीर पाकिस्तान से चीन जायेंगे और इन दोनों देशों में शाने जाने में हमारे देश की सीमा से भी होकर गुज-रेंगे । मुझे नहीं मालुम, प्राइम मिनिस्टर इस पर रोशनी डालेंगे, हम लोगों को आगाउ करेंगे कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पद्धति क्या है। एक देश के साथ भगर हमारा समझौता हुआ है कि उस देश के हवाई जहाज हमारे देश से होकर जा सकते हैं तो क्या उस देश को यह हक भी हासिल है कि जिस किसी दूसरे देश से व3 समझौता कर ले उस देश का हवाई जहाज भी हमारे देश से गुजरने का हकदार हो जाय ? ध्रगर ऐसा नहीं है तो इसके सम्बन्ध में हमें कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये श्रौर हमें कोई जबर-दस्त कदम ग्रामे उठाना चाहिये । हमें ग्रभी इस बारे में कुछ विशेष पता नहीं चला है। **ग्रखबारों में** पढ़ा, एक खबर निकली है, जाब्ते से तो नहीं बेजाब्ते से, कि शायद हमारी सर-कार ने इसके खिलाफ कोई प्रोटेस्ट किया है, हमारी सरकार ने पाकिस्तान को कुछ लिखा है लेकिन क्या असल स्थिति है, क्या काननी स्थिति है, क्या परम्परा की स्थिति है और क्या हमारी सरकार करना चाहती है यह भी हमें जानना चाहिये । यह एक छोटा कदम नहीं है, इसके चलते ग्रागे बड़ी बड़ी दूसरी सम्भावनायें थ्रा सकती हैं, इसलिये इसके सम्बन्ध में भी सरकार को ग्रपना ऐटिच्युड, ग्रपना रुख साफ करना चाहिये ।

साउथ वियतनाम में श्रभी जो कुछ हुश्रा है वह बहुत ही दर्दनाक है, सिर्फ इसलिये नहीं कि यह अत्याचार वहां के बौद्ध लोगों पर हुआ है। किसी भी मत के मानने वाले पर या किसी भी विचार के रखने वाले पर, जिस तरह का ग्रत्याचार श्रीर जिस तरह की ज्यादती वहां हुई है ग्रीर जो कुछ वहां किया गया है, वह मैं समझता हूं बहुत ही गहित है और हम लोगों को भ्रपनी सहानुभूति वहां के बौद्धों के प्रति दिखलानी चाहिये श्रीर हम लोगों को, यदि वियतनाम से हमारे संबंध ग्रन्छे हैं, इस बात की भी चेष्टा करनी चाहिये कि यह जो कुछ किया गया है यह बदला जाय श्रीर उन पर जो ज्यादितयां हुई हैं वे ज्यादितयां बन्द हों ग्रीर भागे के लिये रास्ता निकाला जाय ।

Situation

खुशी की बात है कि कुछ दिन पहले पोप ने इस सम्बन्ध में वक्तब्य दिया था कि शांतिपणें तरीके से काम होना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूं कि पोप के वक्तब्य के अलावा, आज दूसरे राष्ट्र के लोगों का भो कर्तब्य होता है कि साउथ वियतनाम में जो कुछ हो रहा है उस को रोका जाय और उस को सही रास्ते पर लाया जाय।

उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं कि अभी अखबारों में खबर निकली है कि सीलोन में बुद्धिस्ट लोगों की कोई कान्फरेन्स होने वाली है, उसमें चीन के लोग भी जायेंगे और हमारे देश के लोग भी जायेंगे। एक विचित्र परिस्थिति है। परिस्थिति यई है कि जिस चीन ने चीन से बौद्ध धमं का लोप किया, जिस चीन ने तिब्बत में बौद्ध धमं का लोप किया, जिस चीन ने तिब्बत में बौद्ध धमं का विनाश किया, जो चीन अपने यहां आज भी धार्मिक स्वतंत्रता देने को तैयार नहीं है, वह चीन आज साउथ वियतनाम में, बौद्धों की हिफाजत के लिये कान्फरेन्स में जा रहा है—हमें इस बात पर गौर करना चाहिये। मुझे इस पर एक उदूँ की लाइन याद आती है:

International

जिस समय हमारे देश का इतना हिस्सा चीन के कब्जे में है, उस समय वह वहां जा रहा है भीर ऐसी स्थिति में उनके साथ बैठ कर इस तरह की बातचीत करना कहां तक उचित होगा, नहीं होगा--यह हमारी सरकार को सोचना चाहिये। जिस चीन ने बौद्धों का दमन किया, नाश किया, जिनकी मीति के चलते दलाई लामा को भारतवर्ष में भ्राना पड़ा, वह भ्राज सीलोन की सभा में इकट्ठा हो कर निर्णय करेगा कि कैसे उनकी रक्षा की जाय, कैसे उनकी हिफाजत की जाय । मुझे लगता है इसमें बौद्धों के साथ, वहां के रहने वालों के साथ जो ज्यादती हुई है, उसमें रक्षा की उतनी भावना नहीं है जितनी कि भ्रपने विस्तारवाद की भावना है और अपने को दूसरे देशों के साथ आगे बढ़ाकर ले जाने की भावना है। इसलिये यह जो द्विधा का प्रश्न देश के सामने है उस को भी हमारी सरकार को सोचना चाहिये कि कहां तक उस समस्या का समाधान वहां होगा ऐसे लोगों के साथ बैठ कर।

श्रमेरिका श्रीर ब्रिटेन के साथ हवाई सुरक्षा की ट्रेनिंग के लिये जो एग्रीमेंट हम्रा उसका में समझता हूं इस देश का हर नाग-रिक जिसकी ग्रास्था देश के प्रति है, स्वागत करेगा । ग्राज जब दृश्मन हमारी सीमा पर चढा हम्रा है ग्रीर इतने दिनों से हमने जोरों से तैयारियां नहीं कीं, उस का चाहे जो भी कारण रहा हो, भौर हम उसकी वजह से पिछड़े रहे, ऐसी हालत में हमारी सहायता म्रासमान से भ्रचानक नहीं उतरेगी, तैयारी के लिए हमें दूसरे देशों से सहायता लेनी पडेगी, मदद लेनी पड़ेगी और ऐसी अवस्था में किसी भी देश से हमारी रक्षा के लिये, हमारी ट्रेनिंग के लिये यदि कोई सहायता मिलती है तो बिना किसी ऐसी बात का खयाल किये कि उस देश में किस तरह का शासन है,

उसमें किस तरह की पद्धति है, हमें उस सहायता को स्वीकार करना चाहिये, जो चीज श्राज हमारे पास नहीं है, उसको हमें स्वीकार करना चाहिये श्रौर उस से श्रपने देश की शक्ति को भागे बढाना चाहिये. उस में राजनीति नहीं मानी चाहिये। मुझे दुख तब होता है जब इसी देश के हमारे कुछ भाई इसमें भी राजनीति लाना चाहते हैं, इसमें भी दलबंदी लाना चाहते हैं, नान-एलाइनमेंट को अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से खत्म करना चाहते हैं जो चाहते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट मल्कों से तो सहायता लें, लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट मुल्कों के म्रलावा दूसरे मुल्कों से सहायता नहीं लेनी चाहिये, नहीं तो उन्हें लगता है कि नान-एलाइनमेन्ट पर, निरपेक्षता पर, धावा हो रहा है। मैं समझता हं कि नान-एलाइनमेन्ट का यह तकाजा है कि भ्राज हमको जिस क्वार्टर से भी मदद मिले वहां से मदद लेनी चाहिये ग्रीर इसमें राजनैतिक कंसीडरेशन या कोई श्रौर खयाल नहीं करना चाहिये कि वहां कैसी पद्धति है, क्या व्यवस्था है। हमारे सामने म्राज देश की रक्षा का सवाल है ग्रीर जब हम कहीं से मदद लेते हैं तो ग्रपने देश की रक्षा के लिये लेते हैं। उसके मानी यह नहीं हैं कि उनको पद्धति की उनके सिद्धान्त को, उनकी नीति को कबुल करते हैं।

Situation

मुझे खुशी होती यदि व्हौइस आफ स्रमेरिका के साथ जो बातें की गईं वे क्यादा मुस्तैदी से और ज्यादा संजीदगी से की जातीं। व्हौइस आफ स्रमेरिका के साथ जो बातें की गईं जो शत्तें की गईं, जो सुलहनामा हुआ, उसके बारे में यह ठीक है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अपने ऊपर जिम्मेदारी ले ली, लेकिन जिम्मे-दारी ले लेने से काम नहीं चलता। जो बात बिगड़ गईं, जो नुक्सान हो चुका, वह लौटना मुशकिल है। यह इस बात का प्रमाण देता है कि व्हौइस आफ स्रमेरिका के बारे में जितनी बातें हुईं, उनसे सिद्ध होता है कि दूसरे मुक्कों के साथ बातचीत करने का, उनके साथ

Situation

International

सलाह करने का, उनके साथ संधि करने का या किसी नतीजे पर पहुंचने का कोई बा-जाब्ता तरीका या बाजाब्ता पद्धति नहीं रखी गई है ग्रौर ग्रगर पद्धति रखी गई है तो उसका पालन नहीं किया गया है, नहीं तो एग्री-मेंट हो जाय, बातें तय हो जायें ग्रीर उसके बाद भी हम द्विधा में रहें, शक में रह जायें, भौर बाद में यह कहें कि यह तो ग़लत हो गया, यह तो हमारे लिये बुरा हो गया-ऐसा क्यों कहा जाता है। अब ग्राज हमारे लिये परेशानी यह है कि एक तरफ ग्राप कहते हैं बरा हो गया ग्रौर भ्रगर वह चीज कबल करते हैं तो कहते हैं कि इस से हमारी नीति को धक्का पहुंचता है, दूसरी तरफ उसको इनकार करते हैं तो आज दुनिया में आपकी क्या साख होगी भीर श्रापके एग्रीमेंट की क्या कीमत रहेगी। एग्रीमेन्ट के बाद ग्रगर हम मुकरने लग जायें तो हमारा क्या हाल होगा। इतना ही नहीं है, अगर दूसरा भी कोई इसी तरह से मुकर जाय तो हमारा कौनसा मुंह रह जायेगा कि हम उसकी ग्रालोचना कर सकेंगे कि तुम एग्रीमेन्ट करने के बाद अपनी बात से वापस जा रहे हो। तो एक ग्रजीब हालत में हमारी लापरवाही ने, हमारी सुस्ती ने हमें डाल दिया है इस व्हीइस ग्राफ श्रमेरिका के मामले में । मैं समझता हं, ऐसी बात श्राइन्दा नहीं होनी चाहिये ।

ग्रीर मामलों में भी मुझे ऐसा ही लगता है। जब चीन ने श्राक्रमण किया उस समय क्या हुआ । इस सम्बन्ध में हमारे डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब ने यहां भी ग्रभी एक बयान दिया है, मैं उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता । संयोगवश हमारे मित्र ने मेरा नाम पेश करके एक ऐसे इम्बैरेसमेन्ट में, पशोपेश में मुझे डाल दिया कि मेरे लिये कुछ कहना संभव नहीं था। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हुंकि चीन के ग्राक्रमण के पहले जो कुछ हुआ वह तो हुआ लेकिन चीन के आक्रमण के बाद भी हम क्या कर रहे हैं ? आज

हमारे देश के बार्डर पर, सीमा पर, क्या हालत है ? कुछ दिन पहले हमें मालूम हुआ कि नाथुला के पास ऐसे आदमी पकड़ेगये ग्रीर जो ग्राज भी जेल में बंद हैं, जो इधर बहुत दिनों से तिब्बत में हिन्दुस्तान से चीनियों के पास चावल भेजने का काम करते थे। ग्रौर ग्रभी सबसे ताजा घटना मैं ग्रापको बताऊं कि यह जो हमारा यू० पी० ग्रीर बिहार का बार्डर है। जहां हमारी सीमा सीधी तिब्बतियों ग्रीर चीनियों से मिलती हैं, वहां हमारा एक बार्डर का डिस्ट्रिक्ट पिथौरागढ़ है। उस जिले में एक पांगु हाई स्कूल के दो शिक्षक यहां से नेपाल गए, नेपाल से तिब्बत गए ग्रीर तिब्बत में ताकलाकोट में वे रहे चीनियों के साथ और वहां से फिर वापस ग्राए। जिन्होंने मुझे यह खबर दी है उन्होंने यह भी बतलाया है कि वे जो अपने साथ कूली ले गये थे, वह बहरा ग्रौर गुंगा था। जब वे वापस भ्रा रहे थे तो गर्व्यांग में जो हमारा चेकपोस्ट है कालापानी के पास, वहां हमारे लोगों ने उनको पकड़ लिया। लेकिन पकड़ने के बाद फिर छोड़ दिया। इसका मैंने जिक कुछ दिन पहले किया था ग्रीर ग्रधिकारियों से भी कहा था। अभी मझे खबर मिली है, इसी सदन के एक सदस्य ने मुझे बताया है कि शायद वे दोनों शिक्षक ग्रभी हाल में गिरफ्तार कर लिये गये हैं। लेकिन कम से कम एक महीने तक वे खुले छोड़े गए। ग्रौर सबसे विचित्रता की बात यह है कि जिस समय ये शिक्षक लोग तिब्बत में मौजूद थे, उस जमाने में उनकी छुट्टी बढाने के लिए जो दरख्वास्त दी गई वह पिथौरागढ़ से दी गई, वह तिब्बत से नहीं श्राई थी । तिब्बत में चीनियों के सम्पर्क में माने से पहले ही हिन्दस्तान में उनके दूसरे सहकर्मी भी थे, जो उनकी तरफ से काम करते रहे। ग्राज बार्डर पर क्या होता है, ग्राप बार्डर पर जाइये, गढ़वाल ग्रीर कुमायूं की सीमा पर क्या हो रहा है ? ग्रभी कुमायूं में टिन के चादरों की बाबत मुकदमा ग्रीर इन्ववायरी चल रही है कि ये जो टिन की चादरें हमारी थीं वे तिब्बत कैसे चली गईं।

ग्रभी नेपाल के महाराजाधिराज हमारे देश में ग्राये ग्रीर में उतके यहां ग्राने का स्वागत करता ह और हमारी सरकार ने उनको यहां बुलाया यह ग्रच्छा किया। लेकिन मेरे स्थल में जिस पंचायत राज का योग ग्राज नेपाल में हो रहा है और सरकार

होनी चाहिये भीर हमारी सीमा की पूरी

सरक्षा करनी चाहिये । जहां हमला नहीं हुन्ना

है वहां भी इस मामले में हमें कदम उठाना

चाहिये।

की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि नेपाल में पंचायत राज सफल हो रहा है, जनता उसके साथ है, तो मैं बहुत ग्रदब से महाराजा-घिराज से कहना चाहंगा कि जो जनतंत्र के चुने हुए नेता थे, पिछले ग्राम चुनावों में जिनको सैंकड़े में ७४ प्रतिशत वोट मिले, ऐसे नेताओं को बंद करके रखना भीर पंचायत सफल चल रही हैं इसका भारवासन देना, इसमें कहां तक सामंजस्य है। जो नेपाल के बारे में कुछ भी जानते हैं, जो नेपाल की भवस्था का भध्ययन करते हैं, उनको संतोष नहीं होता । इसलिए धगर नेपाल में पंचायती राज सफल हो रहा है, तो दूसरे देश के मामले में दखल देना हम उचित नहीं समझते हैं। लेकिन नेपाल हमारा पड़ौसी देश है भीर मतीत में भी हमने कुछ गलतियों की तरफ उनका ध्यान खींचा घीर घाज भी कह रहा हं कि वहां जनतंत्र के नाम से जो काम हो रहा है, जनता के जो प्रतिनिधि भाज जेलों में पड़े हुए हैं, उस को देखते हुए क्या सही माने में पंचायती राज सफल होगा ? प्रगर वे लोग जेल से बाहर घार्येंगे तो उनका संबंध इससे होगा ग्रीर जनता के बीच में रहेंगे। यह बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं भौर मेरा ख्याल है प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब इसको बहुत सुकुमारता ग्रीर बेलीकेसी के साथ जिस तरह से वे बहुत सी बात पहले से कहते आये हैं, इस चीज को भी नेपाल के महाराजा तक पहुंचायेंगे जिस से वहां की सरकार इस मामले में जो मुनासिब कदम होगा, उठायेगी ।

Situation

म्राज जब हम दुनिया पर गौर करते हैं तो ऐसा लगता है कि ब्लाक्स और दलों का जो चित्र हमारे सामने था, उसमें परिवर्तन हो रहा है। अब तक जो रेखा खींची हुई थी, वह रेखा बराबर मिट रही है और बदल रही है। एक ग्रोर हम देखते हैं कि सिएटो का एक बड़ा भागीदार, हिस्सेदार, पाकिस्तान चीन के साय ग्राज गठवन्धन कर रहा है। ग्रगर हम उस संगठन के इतिहास की तरफ जायें तो उसके मूल में यह बात मानी जाती है कि कम्युनिज्म का विस्तार रोकने के लिये, श्रिः गंगा शरण सिंही

International

कम्यनिज्म को रोकने के लिए ही इस संगठन का जन्म हम्रा था। लेकिन जिस संगठन का जन्म कम्युनिज्म के विस्तार को रोकने के लिये, कम्युनिस्टों को रोकने के लिए हुआ था, वही संगठन श्रीर उसी संगठन का एक बड़ा हिस्से-दार ग्राज कम्यनिस्टों के साथ । गठबन्धन कर रहा है, भ्रपना हिस्सा उसको दे रहा है भौर बहुत हद तक कम्युनिस्ट विस्तारवाद को प्रत्यक्ष भ्रीर भ्रप्रत्यक्ष रूप से मदद कर रहा है। ऐसा लगता है कि जो परिभाषाएं थीं वे बदल रही हैं, जो सीमा है वह बदल रही है, जो रेखा है वह बदल रही है। दूसरी तरफ हम देखते हैं कि फ्रांस जो धब तक समझा जाता था पूरी तरह अमेरीका, इंग्लैंड और जर्मनी के साथ है, एक जान दो कालिब है, उस फांस का उसके साथी देशों के साथ किस हद तक मतमिन्नता है, मतभेद किस हद दर्जे तक है, इसका ठीक पता हमको नहीं है। फ्रांस के इंग्लैंड ग्रीर ग्रमेरिका के साथ वह सम्बन्ध नहीं रह गये हैं जो पहले थे। वहां भी मतभेद हो रहे हैं ग्रौर उनमें भी फर्क हो रहे हैं, ऐसा ग्राज हमको लगता है। दूसरी तरफ जो देश भ्रपने श्राप को एक दूसरे से दूर समझते य रूस ग्रीर ग्रमेरिका, वे एक दूसरे के करीब ग्रा रहे हैं, बहुत से मामलों में । कुछ मामलों में वे बहुत करीब ग्रागये हैं ग्रीर सबसे बड़ी चीज यह है कि ग्रब ऐसा लगता है कि शायद दुनिया में एक नया विभाजन हो । जो लोग सह-विश्वास में विश्वास रखते हैं वे शायद एक तरफ हों ग्रीर जो लोग सह-विश्वास के खिलाफ हैं वे दूसरी तरफ हों। मैं ऐसा नहीं कहता कि यह ग्रवस्य होगा ग्रौर तुरन्त होगा। लेकिन ऐसा समय या सकता है। ऐसी हालत में हमें पूरा सजग होना चाहिये । ग्राज दुनिया में जो परिवर्तन हो रहे हैं, उनके प्रति हमें सचेष्ट ग्रीर जागरूक रहना चाहिये। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि नान-एलाइनमेन्ट हमारा रहेगा। लेकिन नान-एलाइनमेन्ट का जो एप्लीकेशन होगा वह देशों के प्रति बदलेगा, जैसे चीन के त्रति बदबा ; चीन के प्रति नान-एलाइनमेंट

का ग्रब कोई प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता है। सिफं यही नहीं कि चीन ने हम पर ग्राक्रमण किया है बल्कि चीन इस तरह से ग्रागे जाना चाहता है जो रास्ता हिन्दुस्तान के लिए भ्रौर विश्व के लिए खतरनाक है। मैं इस सदन में प्राइम मिनिस्टर से बराबर कहता था, उस जमाने में जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर की चीन से ज्यादा मित्रता थी। चीन का जो खतरा है वह सिर्फ विस्तारवाद की दृष्टि से नहीं है, जमीन की दुष्टि से नहीं है बल्कि सिद्धान्त तथा नीति की दृष्टि से चीन हमारे लिए खतरनाक है। उसके सिद्धान्त ग्रीर नीतियां तथा जमीन पर विस्तार दोनों हमारे लिये खतरनाक हैं। अप्राजद्निया में हो सकता है कि जो ताक़र्ते हैं उनमें पुनः एक दूसरे तरह का मिलना जुलना हो, इसीलिये मेरा यह भी कहना **है** कि हम अपनी जगह पर दृढ़ रहें, हम किसी गृट में शामिल नहीं हों। लेकिन जो सच्चाई की चीज हो, सच्चाई की बात हो उसका हमें मुस्तेदी के साथ समर्थन करना चाहिये, बिना किसी हिचक के कि कोई एक गुट क्या कहेगा दूसरा गुट क्या कहेगा । वही सच्ची निरपेक्षता होगी।

मुझे ऐसा लगता है कभी दूसरे के प्रभाव में ग्रा कर भौर उनकी राय से प्रभावित होकर हम युधिष्ठर की नीति, धर्मराज युधिष्ठिर की नीति का पालन करते रहते हैं। महाभारत के युद्ध में युधिष्ठिर यह भी चाहते थे कि द्रोणाचार्य मर जायं ग्रीर यह भी चाहते थे कि हम झुठ न बोलें, दोनों के बीच में द्वंद्व हो रहा था। भ्रौर फिर वही प्रसिद्ध कहानी है: ग्रम्बत्थामा हतः नरो ना कृन्जरः । हमारी नीति में भी कभी कभी ऐसा ही होता है। मैं बहुत उदाहरण देना नहीं चाहता हं लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि मिस्र में, इजिप्ट में जो कुछ हुआ। अंग्रेजों ने, फांस ने जो कुछ किया, उस वक्त जो एटिट्युड रुख हमने लिया वही रुख हमने हंगरी के मामले में नहीं लिया । ऐसे बहुत से ग्राकेजन्स-मौके ग्राये हैं। उदाहरण के लिए जब न्यूनिलयर बम 🚉 गरीक्षण हुए 🕏

उस जमाने में जो रुख हमने अमेरिका के खिलाफ लिया वही रूस के खिलाफ नहीं लिया । यह शिकायत के तौर पर नहीं बल्कि ब्रागे हम इस रास्ते पर नहीं चलें इसलिए कह रहा हूं। हम सच्चे निरपेक्षतः के रास्ते पर चलें ग्रीर इस दिष्ट को सामने रख कर मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर का ध्यान दिलाने के लिए निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि . . .

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भी सभापति : ग्रापका वक्त हो गया है।

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA:] was told that I could speak for thirty minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, but only two more minutes are left.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: Yes, I am aware of it. Sir.

तो आज एक सबसे बड़ी बात जो हुई है, पूर्व और पश्चिम में और विभिन्न मुल्कों में जो टेन्शन था श्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पैमाने पर जो तनाव था, एक भ्रोर लगता है कि वह टेन्शन कम हम्रा है लेकिन दूसरी भ्रोर यह लगता है कि एशिया में वह टेन्शन, वह खिचाव, वह तनाव ज्यादा बढ़ता जा रहा है और इसीलिए हम एक और मुख, एक ग्रोर दुख, दोंनों के बीच की ग्रवस्था में पड़े हए हैं। एक तरफ अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय टेन्शन में जो कमी होती है उससे हमको खुशी होती है। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ एशिया में जो वा टेन्शन बढ़ रहा है, ये तनाव बढ़ रहे हैं, उस से हमें परेशानी होती है और ऐसी हालत में हमारी नीति ऐसी होनी चाहिये कि हम इन दोनों परिस्थितियों का मुकाबला कर सकें ग्रीर वक्त गुजर जाने के बाद हम नहीं कहें कि हमने सिर्फ़ यह 'ग़लती की थी' । वैसे यह भी एक बड़ी चीज है, यह भी बड़प्पन की एक निशानी 🕏 कि यदि एक बड़ा राष्ट्र या कोई बड़ा ब्रादमी या कोई बड़ा सामाजिक संगठन सचमच ग्रगर कोई गलती करता है और श्रागे चल कर कबुल करता है। लेकिन हम बराबर उस ग्रनती को दोहराते चले जायें उस से न हमारा

काम चलेगा ग्रौर उस से हम न बडा राष्ट्र श्रौर ने बड़े भ्रादमी रहेंगे, उस ग़लती से हमें सबक लेना चाहिये और आज की परिस्थिति में हमें ज्यादा जागरूक होकर, जो भी कदम हम उठाते हैं, उस कदम से क्या परिणाम होंगे उन पर गौर कर उस कदम को उठाना चाहिए। ऐसा लगता है बहुत बार कि चाहे उतावले पन में, चाहे उजलत में, चाहे जल्दबाजी में, या दूसरों के प्रभाव से प्रेरित हो कर हम ऐसे कदम उठा लेते हैं कि जिनके चलते हमें बाद में पछताना पडता है। मैं ऐसा क ना चाहता है कि बार बार ऐसा मौका नहीं श्राना चाहिये और भ्रागे जो हमारी नीति हो वह ज्यादा समध्ट होनी चाहिये, ज्यादा दढ़ होनी चाहिये और मैं तो यह भी समझ गा कि हमारा देश ध्रगर किसी सिद्धान्त की रक्षा के लिए या ब्रात्मसम्मान की रक्षा के लिए या किसी नैतिक गण के लिए मिटने पर श्रा जाय तो ब्राज उसके लिए भी तैयार रहना चाहिये। जो नैतिक गुण मनुष्य के लिये लागू होता है, वही गुण और नीति राष्ट्रों के लिये लाग होती है। मैं तो यह चाहता हूं कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब निरपेक्षता की जिस तरह बात करते हैं उसी तरह की निरपेक्षता का व्यवहार में भी पूरी तौर पर पालन होना चाहिये और जो दूश्मन छाती पर खड़ा हो उसका साहस के साथ, हिम्मत के साथ ग्रौर बहाद्री के साथ मुकाबला किया जाय, यही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

Situation

SHRI B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to speak about the amendment that I moved and also express my views regarding certain other amendments which have been moved and I shall do so as briefly as I can. Sir, it is customary for both Houses of Parliament during the various sessions to consider and discuss statements of the Prime Minister from time to time, and to express the views of hon. Members on matters relating to international and foreign affairs. Very often, the Houses of Parliament

[Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao.]

merely discuss and limit themselves to an expression of opinion, without arriving at any definite conclusion or passing any motion, as this House did once last year. But often enough, when important policies are involved and also in a time of emergency as the one we are passing through, it would be highly advantageous if Parliament speaks definitely and puts it seal of approval on the policy of the Government. It will strengthen the hands of the Prime Minister and of the Government in facing any national crisis or any contingency. It is also necessary to do so in order to remove any possible confusion in the minds of the people of this country or the people of other countries and to reassert our determination to follow) our policies without fear or favour and also to reaffirm them. I say this because any confusion of ideas which The Gita aptly calls "Buddhi Bheda" will spell danger to internal security and cause misunderstanding outside our country during this critical period. It is therefore, that I have moved this amendment of mine for the acceptance of the House. Sir, the House has listened, as usual, with rapt attention to the somewhat brief but comprehensive statement and speech of the hon, the Prime Minister who has touched all important aspects of our foreign policy and has given us details of all recent developments concerning our external affairs. As was expected, Sir, the Chinese aggression and Pakistan's re-Minister who has touched all important issues dealt with in the statement of the Prime Minister because it is these issues with which our minds are mostly occupied. While Paper No. IX which came to our hands recently has brought out the correspondence betweea our Government and the Chinese Government up to July, 1963. While placing White Paper No. IX on the Table of the House, the Prime Minister made a brief statement on the recent Chinase troop concentrations along the Indian border, a subject which was and is agitating our minds even today. He gave in that state-

ment, details of the alarming developments that have taken place recently, and that are still taking place, between February and July on the borders. I need not repeat those details. It is enough to remember that the Chinese are indulging in intensive preparatory operations by constructing barracks, gun emplacements, airfields, roads, subterranean trenches and other things and are making forward movements and concentrating their troops in a manner which unmistakably indicates their treacherous intentions. Whether and when they will begin another thrust is anybody's guess but the assurance given by the Prime Minister in his statement today that all preparations are being made to face any contingency should be a source of satisfaction to the country and to the Parliament. May I refer. Sir, with your permission to the oft repeated criticism made on the floor of both the Houses and also outside the Parliament about our unpreparedness in the past. It is true that while we had sufficient indications of the danger that lay ahead, we did not expect the treacherous and massive attack that we had to face, we knew and it has been frankly admitted by the hon. the Prime Minister that the Chinese were nibbling at our borders and making encroachments, like all sincere and peace-loving people who have faith in the ultimate goodness of men, we trusted that reason and right might prevail, and matters might be decided across the table. I need not recount all the efforts made by us for a peaceful settlement. The House is fully aware of them. The Prime Minister, in his anxiety to follow the principle of peace and save the country from a wasteful and devastating' war, fully accepted the Colombo proposals despite some vocal opposition in the country, but China rejected them. Some hon. Members still criticise that by accepting the Colombo proposals, we lowered our prestige.. With all respect to them. I entirely disagree with them and I have no hesitation in saying that we have gained in prestige rather than lost it. By doing as we

gave fresh evidence did, we if any such evidence were necessary our intentions and readiness negotiatei even in the face of the most treacherous provocation by the party. The rejection by China of the Colombo [proposals after our accep tance has helped us in gaining the goodwill and sympathy of neutral nations some of whom had been be guiled into believing the blatant pro paganda of the Chinese who continue to claim that their massive attacks forcible occupations were mere counter-attacks' made by them. They are now not able to fool the world by their propaganda. It is true that every after recent foreign tours of some of our Ministers and officials in order to the doubts created bv dispel the Goebbelsian Of propaganda the Chinese, traces of misunderstanding still remain which have to be removed strengthening our propaganda machinery_t But nothing has convinced the world about our bona fieds more or better than our acceptan ce of the Colombo pro posals and their rejection by China. unilateral declaration of cease fire and retreat have not enhanced the prestige of China in the world; nor have they been mistaken for peaceful intentions by the world. Added to this is the great ideological schism which is separating the Soviet bloc from China-a schism which has iso the authorita lated the latter from Soviet tenents of World Com tive munism

Sir. it is said that our policy has been weakkneed, a policy of surrender. I think this statement is far from the truth. It is true that we were unprepared for an attack and hence we had to face military defeat. It is regrettable that this should have happened. But it is wrong to say that we have been following a weak policy of surrender. We have insted on "peace with honour" and have thereby naturally further invoked the wrath of China which is probably waiting for an opportunity and preparing for a fresh attack. We are preparing ourselves to meet the challenge and shall do so successfully with the assistance

of friendly countries if not all by ourselves but mainly with the strength of the united will of

Situation

Sir, our policy of non-alignment has become the subject of constant criticism. It is no doubt a basic idea which has shaped our whole foreign policy in recent times but it is not an innovation nor is it a religious or political dogma which cannot be altered. It is a logical corollary to our fundamental desire to maintain peaceful relations with the rest of the world including our immediate neighbours with whom we have serious differences. Translated into action, it means non-involvement in military alliances; it means, in other words, a refusal to believe in the theory that if one is not a friend, he is a foe or an enemy. It is a neutrality which insists on keeping an open mind and speaking openly and freely on important affairs without giving under offence but at the same time without fear or favour. This policy is a difficult one to follow and it has on many occasions not only embarrassed us greatly vis-a-vis the big power blocs of the world but has put us into a great disadvantage in many ways. But if it is weighed in the balance of 'enlightened self-interest' which is after all the foundation of the foreign policy of any country in the modern world, it has given us enough dividends and proved that it has a vitality which will ultimately win us more friends than foes. At times some of our friends with whose political thinking we have greater affinity, have felt irritated or dissatisfied, but even they have begun to appreciate our policy much better than they used to do in the past. It is said that Ceylon and Burma and other Colmobo powers and neighbouring countries of ours are not as friendly to us as they should have been. But they may have their own difficulties—it is not right for us to disregard them—difficulties which cannot be traced to our policy of non-alignment. It may be that their own enlightened self-interest does not permit them to be warmer in their expression of friendship towards us than

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what they are prepared to admit and show in practice.

Sir, as regards Pakistan, our policy has been consistent and firm. We have literally never left any stone unturned in our efforts for a peaceful settlement. Most of us who have been watching the result of the recent negotiations with keen interest and with appreciation and admiration for the forbearance and sagacity of our representative, Sardar Swaran Singh, knew that they were foredoomed to failure. We who anticipated this result were not at all disappointed because we knew itlheipneseiU rulers of Pakistan have built up their power basically on the foundation of hatred towards India and intransigence at all costs. There recent pacts and treaties with China and the ominous threats that their leaders are uttering are ample evidence, if any were necessary, of their evil intentions. I entirely agree with niy hon. friend, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha that this situation which has been created deserves our earnest attention and great care. But our patience and restraint both during and after these negotiations and our constant readiness to conclude a no-war pact with Pakistan have yielded some good results. American opinion, usually tolerant and favourable to Pakistan, has recently taken a turn for the better. It has begun to realise the absurdity of encouraging the intransigence of Pakistan whose positive and ill-timed flirtations with China seem to have caused some annoyance even in the United States. Some Senators of the Congress have recently given unmistakable evidence of this realisation, but still in the context of Kashmir they try to put equal blame on India and Pakistan which is based on an incorrect appreciation of facts. In this connection. Sir. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister, to the need for greater and more effective propaganda in the United States, in Australia, in Canada, as well as in the near eastern and

middle eastern countries where our case against Pakistan does not seem to be well understood. In fact, according to information, Pakistani propaganda, has taken deep roots and our occasional counter-propaganda, official or non-official, does not evoke sufficient response. I am sure any contemplated economy drive will not result in stinting expenditure on this vital means for the success of our foreign policy *vis-a-vis* Pakistan.

Sir, the foreign policies of our country are and should be based on the four principles of Sama, Dana, Bheda and Danda, which are the four pillars of diplomacy or Rajaniti. These chaturopayas—four upayas— have been recognised from time immemorial as justifiable means for securing the success of foreign policy. Sometimes all these four upayas are employed simultaneously or in quick succession one after the other as the situation demands. The method of sama or the peaceful method comes first and is enjoined on us because ours is a Manava Dharma. Sir, I am not trying to take refuge under the tenets of bygone shastras, but I am referring to them because they are so practical, so much based on common-sense and prudence and basic trends of human conduct that they are true even for today and are closely allied to the principles that regulate the proper conduct of international affairs. I believe, Sir, that my hon. friends who advocate a seemingly more vigorous attitude and plead for immediate cessation of diplomatic relations with China, or suggest some other methods which appear to them to be more effective, do not desire to weaken the hands of the Government. That cannot be expected of them. I apr>"~ to them to adopt a more realistic attitude towards these important matters where any wrong step might lead us into greater difficulties. I entirely agree with them that China cannot be depended upon for a return to sanity in the near future but it is worth considering whether she is not provoking and driving us into

some precipate action which might lead to a world conflagration which she seems to be itching for. A policy based on dignity and patience is more likely to succeed on certain occasions than haste and impatient action. Our policy is based on certain fundamental principles with which even hori. Members of the Opposition could not have many basic differences. The nation is well on the path of progress. The progress may not be ostentatious but it is solid.

International

Sir, while speaking on foreign affairs it is not necessary for me to repeat some of the things that have been said by other Members. I am sure some of the information that was given by my friend, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, regarding what is happening on the borders of Uttar Pradesh will be considered with due regard and I do hope that suitable and prompt action will be taken by the Government to prevent a recurrence of such activities on the border. I plead 'or the acceptance of my amendment because I think that-we ought to strengthen the hands of our Prime Minister and give him united support which is the need of the day. Let us put our seal of approval on the foreign policy being pursued by the Prime Minister which is fundamentally true and correct and which is in consonance with the genius pt the people of our country so that he may press it with greater vigour into the service of the motherland.

With these words I commend my amendment for the approval of the House.

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR (Kerala).-Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are thankful to the Prime Minister for the opportunity offered to us to discuss the recent international developments as well as the foreign policy of our Government

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I welcome the statement of the Prime Minister when he reassured the House that the Government stands firmly

by the policy of non-alignment. I also welcome the statement of the Prime Minister regarding Indo-Pakis-tan negotiations and I fully agree with the approach of the Government regarding the border dispute between our country and China. But at the same time, Madam, when the Chinese made a massive attack on our borders, inside the country the basic policies of our Government were also attacked by some forces inside the country. Today it is true that the Government still speaks in terms of non-alignment but it is a fact that our vision has got blurred, nonalignment has got damaged and the edge of our policy of anti-colonialism and antiracialism has got blunted. 2 P.M. That is why I said a moment back that we welcome this opportunity to say something on the matter. As far as the international developments referred to by the Prime Minister are concerned, we agree that the signing of the Test Ban Treaty is of historic importance. We as a country following a policy of peace have welcomed it and it is only in the fitness of things that we were ainong the first of nations to join in the signing of the Treaty. Nobody will claim that by this the threat of nuclear war is over. At the same time, this will help to undermine the forces of aggression and war. This will ease the international tension. This will also pave the way for further stopping of underground tests and the destruction of nuclear arms. This will also create an atmosphere and a climate for settling international problems through negotiations. But we are surprised to find that this Treaty is opposed by certain countries. As far as France is concerned, I do not want to say much. Anyway, I will only remind you that if France has occupied a high place in the minds of the people it is because of the level of culture that nation has, as well as human values for which they have stood. I think better wisdom will prevail on them so as to change their

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atmosphere in the world.

Now, if the signing of the Test Ban Treaty was a happy event, there are certain other distressing events that have taken place during these month* and one such incident relates to happenings in South Viet-Nam. Our hearts are heavy with the news that we are receiving from South Viet-Nam. We hear of pagodas being "wrecked. The Xa Loi Pagoda has been broken into and looting is taking place from temples. Thousands of people are put in jails and concentration camps. Many are murdered. Colleges and schools are closed and students are taken into custody. I would read from the "Time" Magazine, what they have written about the developments there. The Xa Loi Pagoda is the biggest in Saigon. About the wrecking and looting of the Pagoda, the "Time" writes as follows:

"It was 12.20 a.m. Using their rifle butts as clubs, squads of tough, riot-trained special forces smashed into the pagoda, battering

a path through a small guard of young Buddhist monks. The troopers had a list, and each monk on the list was considered to be a Communist in disguise. On the temple's second floor, one monk tried to resist and was thrown bodily from a balcony to the court-vard 20 feet below. Other monks and nuns were routed from behind a flimsy barricade of wooden benches and forced outside by tear gas and gunshots.

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Sacking the pagoda's main altar, the raiders carted away the charred heart of Buddhist Martyr Thich Quang Due, who last June was the first of five Buddhists to burn himself to death in protest against the Diem government's anti-Buddhist drive."

The crack down at this time was duplicated all over South Viet-Nam. There are more reports similarly. Yet their demand is very simple. The Buddhists want equal rights with the Catholics there. In spite of the appeal of the Pope, President Diem rejected it and is refusing to grant equal rights. That is the basis of the trouble there. The action they, have taken to fight for their cause is one of selfinfliction and self-torture and is not sabotage or anything. So, this is a matter which should concern all civilised humanity and steps have to be taken to prevent such occurrences. Now, Madam, why is this happening? It is known to everybody, even according to their own admission, that 80 per cent of the population there are Buddhists and they are all against the present administration. Still the Diem regime is able to carry out this policy because they are backed by America. Nine years ago this regime-was foisted on them and it is the military might of America and the millions of dollars that they are pumping in there that keep the administration going there. The moment they withdraw their support there is absolutely no doubt that the Diem regime will fall like a house of cards. But it is unfortunate that the attitude

of the U.S.A. is not for that. It is true that they are occasionally protesting, but from certain official statements it will be clear that America is not going to change its policy. The Chief of the U.S. administration in a press conference said the following: "For withdraw from that effort", that u_c to is from support to South Vietnam, "would mean a collapse of not only South Vietnam but South East Asia". Even when these things are happening, the attitude of America is very well explained in this statement of the Chief of the U.S. administration and they are finding excuses for taking this stand. The U.S. Defence spokesman has said that the Bhuddhists' fight against religious discrimination is a political fight against Diem regime. The U.S. Ambassador says that during his two and a half years' stay there he could not find any religious discrimination there. Finally the State Department on August 21st has said in a public declaration that there is no change in the U.S. policy of assisting Diem. This should be an eye-opener to us. In this India has a special responsibility. India is the Chairman of the International Commission, and as such it was the responsibility of India to protest against this kind of activities and raise this question at the appropriate place and find a solution to it. Unfortunately, Madam, I am sorry to state that we needed the proddings of our neighbouring country's Prime Minister, the Prime Min'ster of Ceylon. I want to know from the Prime Minister why there was this delay. Then, again, Madam, this has cast some doubts in our minds that in order not to offend the Americans we are closing our eves to certain incidents.

International

Madam, the Prime M nister in his speech referred to certain statements made by our Party regarding the pronouncements of our President while he visited the U.S.A. I want to make it c^ear that we never meant that he spoke anything against what he has been asked to speak by the Government. That was not our contention.

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Our contention was what the President spoke was not in conformity with the accepted policy of our Government. The policies of our Government, even though they are framed by Cabinet or by the Secretaries, become the basic policies of the nation only when they get accepted by the Parliament. So, Madam, it is our con. tention that however high certain people may be placed in Government . '. .

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THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you made vour point very clear. You need not dwell on it any more. You need not go into

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I am not speaking about the President. That is why I made that point clear. If the President is removed from the discussion, then the policy which the President proclaimed through his speeches, which is the policy of the Government. can be discussed, and that should be discussed. Madam, in his Washington talks the Indian President is reported to have spoken of the general situation in India following the Chinese invasion, the present military preparations in India and the countrys determination to resist China not only to safeguard its own freedom but in the interests of the whole of South East Asia. This was reported by the P. T. I. on June 5th. Then again in the joint communique it was said that they agreed that their two countries shared their mutual defence concern thwart the Chinese aggression against this sub-continent. Madam, if this is indication of the policy of the Government that they are going to toe the line of the Americans as far as South East Asian countries are concerned, I maintain that it is against the policy that the Government i* pursuing. I have never seen a statement from Government earlier in anv of the discussions held in Parliament that we and the U.S.A have this common policy regarding South East Asian countries. The day we adopt such a policy, that will be

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.] very ruinous to us because, what is the policy of the U.S.A. regarding South East Asia?

Shri A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): On a point of $order_f$ Madam. The speaker is now going into a detailed discussion of the President's views. I think . . .

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: I made myself very clear. What is the policy of the U.S.A. in South Ea3t Asia? Whom are they backing? The Diem regime which is fighting the entire people in that country, the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Formosa, Syng-man Rhee of Korea on his successor I believe-it is these they are supporting. That has been the policy of the U.S.A. We have to consider very seriously whether we should toe the Americans as far as the South East Asian countries are concerned. If that is their policy, then our stand regarding V.O.A. is quite justified. We oppose the V.O.A. deal because it is against our policy of non-alignment. The Prime Micnister himself has admitted that it is not consistent with the policy of nonalignment.

Now, Madam, coming to the question of V.O.A., we were very happy when the Prime Minister himself on a previous occasion said that they were going t_0 revise the V.O.A. deal. There is no need for me to go into the details of the deal. I need not go into the question of how it is against our accepted policy. I am not doing that. But a certain news that has come in The Statesman' i_s very disturbing. On the 23rd of last month, in a report in 'The Statesman* the following news was given:—

"The controversy over the VOA agreement appears to be taken a hopeful turn, it is authoritatively learnt today."

And what is that hopeful turn?

"Short of offering *pre-censor-ship' of the VOA broadcasts, the formula offers India enough guar-

antees that nothing in them will embarrass her in her domestic and foreign relations. The details of programmes may be provided in advance and taped broadcasts subsequently t_0 enable India to maintain a constant and effective vigilance on what the VOA presents from the Calcutta transmitter.

The financial terms ^may also be made more attractive."

If this is the way in which the VOA deal is going to be revised, I have no hesitation in saying that that. is quite unsatisfactory. Nothing short of scrapping this agreement will satisfy the need₃ of the situation. Now, another factor is, the Prime Minister himself admitted in this House that this deal was not gone through by the Cabinet and that it was at the instance of negotiations between the Secretaries that the agreement had been contractec*. Now I find that the same officials who were responsible for this agreement have been asked to negotiate with them. I think it is a wrong thing to contract an agreement against the accepted policies of the Government. What the Government should do is to take severe action against those officers, and not sisk them to go and negotiate again.

Another important development was the joint air exercises. It has been said that it is only for giving training to our men and that the whole exercises will be done under the aegis of the Indian Arm_v and all that. But from a report iⁿ 'The Washington Post', it is clear as to how other countries are looking at it. "The Washington Post' says—

"These exercises do not differ in any way from similar exercises in which Pakistan has been taking part on the basis of alliance with West • within the SEATO and CENTO."

Now, there are certain points wh'ch I would like the Prime Minister to clarify with regard to these joint air

exercises. It has been said that it is only for training that we are having these radars. The Times of India' in one of its editorials has put a very pertinent question.

SHRI A. D. MANI: You like The Time of India' then?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Of course, whichever paper speaks the truth. Even a paper like 'The Times of India' could not hide the fact that these air exercises,' though they may seem very innocent, have certain very dangerous ^consequences. They may be sending us only radars. The radars are useful in finding out from which side the planes are coming. After the planes come, what are we to do? You get a warning. How are we to resist and for shooting—that is the problem— where are your supersonics? India had made a request for supersonics. They are not given. They are prepared to set up radar arrangements which only means that these radar arrangements are only the thin end of the wedge, and the old 'air umbrella scheme' which was rejected by the people of India and the Government is going to be brought in through the back-do'or. So, unless we take a definite stand on this and unless we are very clear that it will not be the old 'air umbrella scheme' that we had once rejected, I think it will be a departure from the policy of nonalignment.

Now, during these months, we have had certain bitter experiences and from them we have to draw certain lessons also. One of those experiences had been that at the time of the Chinese invasion we thought that the Western Powers were coming forward in a disinterested Way to help us Hi our crisis. But it did not take much time for us to realise that for the help that they were giving we had to give a price and the price was that they wanted us to settle the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan, and the question was, either you agree to the condition of Pakistan by handing over a

part of the Kashmir Valley to them or make it an international territory, I am glad that both these offers were rejected by the Government. But at the same time this showed that the support that we were getting was not a disinterested on, and that there was a motive behind it. Again I am quoting Time' magazine. It was when the question of aid to India waa being discussed. It says-

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"It recommended that Congress consider the withholding of economic assistance from those countries which persist in policies of belligerence and in preparations for their execution. It suggested drastic reductions in aid to both India and Pakistan until they settle their long standing disputes."

This is the Tin\e' reporting on the Congress decision. Here again they are putting in the condition that if we want any aid from them we have to settle our disputes, and then only they will be prepared to help us. That is the meaning of this help.

Again, we had another experience. I was very sorry to hear my hon. friend, Shri Ramakrishna Rao saying that if the Government of Ceylon or the Government of Burma are not very warm it is because of their self-interest and all that. I do not agree with the opinion he has expressed. In this crisis we find the Colombo Powers meeting together and trying their best to bring this dispute to a peaceful settlement, if they did not succeed, it is not their fault. Behind these six Powers there was the goodwill of the Afro-Asian nations. The Soviet Union did not succeed. Other Communist countries could not succeed in persuading China. But at the same time you have to respect the goodwill and love and regard the Afro-As an nations had towards India and the attempt they made to find a peaceful solution of this question. So this was another

[Shri M. N. Govindan Nair.]

experience. The newly-liberated countries, all coming to our help for a settlement, are a force which is to be reckoned with. They are a force on which we can rely.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Did any of them agree that China was aggressor?

Shri M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Ii th_e Colombo proposals put forward by the six non-aligned nations were acceptable t_0 us, they stood by our side. It is very clear. I do not want to go further into that question.

Again, we sought help from the Soviet Union. They did not say, as the Americans said, that first we settle the dispute with China and then only will they give us aid. Whatever things have been asked for, as w_e understand from the papers, the Soviet Union was prepared to help us with. Not only the Soviet Union but other socialist countries also had been offering their help in spite of the fact that China was attacking us on the other side.

So, Madam, during the same period we had certain experiences, and in chalking out our future programme this experience must weigh. I am saying this because in our attitude to the South East Asian countries, in our attitude to the African countries—I do not say surely—somehow our policies and our attitudes had been affected.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your timelimit is over. You have taken more than half an hour.

""Shri M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Only two minutes. Now, with regard to these African countries, 80 per cent, of them are free. But the other 20 per cent. ar_e still struggling to win freedom. The other African nations have joined together for rendering all types of help. Now, the Government of India has to consider serious-

ly how this anti-colonial fight can be helped by us. Another thing to consider is how w_e can help th_e newly-liberated African countries by way of giving them technical aid, by giving them scholarships for students.

Then the most important thing is the selection of our diplomats. You have to be careful to see that our diplomats are such people who will treat them in a fraternal way. The general complaint is that our diplomats in Africa, instead of trying to fraternise with the Africans, instead of trying to understand their problems, are more happy in the company of the white people there. I do not mean to say that we should be against the white people. That is not my point. But a diplomat in Africa should necessarily try to fraternise with the Africans much more than seeking the company of the Westerners.

Then, again, the failure of our diplomats to understand their problem* also stands in the way of better relationship between the two countries. So I would suggest that the Government has to pay much greater attention in fostering the friendship with these African countries and the South-East Asian countries. And I believe,, from the experience which we have gained, the friendship with the Socialist countries and especially with the Soviet Union should be fostered to the maximum possible extent. Their friendship will be a guarantee not only for our future but fo_r the future of the entire world.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, the past twelve months have been most eventful in the history of the world since the cessation of hostilities in 1945. From the near catastrophe of a nuclear war during the Cuban crisis, we have advanced to a stage when all countries in the world except three have either signed *or*

agreed to sign the Partial Test Ban Agreement. As our Prime Minister rightly observed, the signing of the Test Ban Treaty by the great powers is good news for them, good news for us and good news for the entire world. This significant event has opened a new era of hope for peace, prosperity and survival of mankind. This agreement is, above aU, a triumph of India's farsighted foreign policies of which our Prime Minister is the prime architect. The high objective of our policy of peace and non-alignment has been to lessen the tension and bring about an understanding between the two major power blocs indulging in cold war tactics. In this direction India's policy has achieved considerable success. The test ban treaty and the installation of direct 'Hot Line' telephone between the White House and the Kremlin have been turning points in recent history and they augur good for the future of the world.

Our policy of strict non-alignment underwent severe stress and strain during the past twelve months. But thanks to the farsighted and firm leadership of our Prime Minister, we have not deviated from high principles and ideals which we are wedded to and this has strengthened our position considerably in the international sphere. Both the power blocs have not only accepted our policy of non-alignment but have also actually approved of the same as the correct and the best one for country. Even this morning Moscow newspapers have spoken in very high appreciable terms about our role in international affairs and our policy of nonalignment. The fruits of our policy have resulted hi China being isolated not only from the countries of the West and the East, but from their own socialist countries. Over the past few days. almost all the socialist countries in the world have come out openly appreciating our stand in the Indo-China conflict and condemning China 'for the aggression

she has committed and continues to commit against India. We have been getting all our required assistance from almost all countries whom we have approached. If China thinks of aggression again on our country, fortunately if it became a reality, it is almost certain now that not only the powerful countries of the Western world but also the great U. S. S. R. and the socialist countries will stand by us openly in the hour of crisis and trial. It is not merely enough if we think of tackling China at our own frontiers and borders. China has become an imperialist country with a desire to dominate the whole of Asia as quickly as possible and before time runs out. Hence we will have to play a positive role in stemming the tide of Chinese imperialism in Asia, particularly in South East Asia. We cannot be complacent about events that are taking place in the various parts of South East Asia which has become the cockpit of post-war politics. The vacuum created by the exit of the Western nations have not been The shadow of Chinese filled up so far. imperialism is slowly creeping over this region. As one looks at South East Asia with its slim strips of land, patches of sea and countless scattered islands, one notices a kind of struggle to build a new order. In many countries, there i_s no order, harmony unity or even symbol of authority. Six years of continuous warfare and sixteen years of internal strife have thoroughly shattered and battered those countries and they are lying prostrate with weakness. Laos and Cambodia have been the leaning towers with a dreadful prospect that they may tumble any time the Chinese decide SO. Recent unfortunate South Viet-Nam have developments in further shaken the slender foundations on the country has been perilously which standing for the past few years. Even the Maphiland. the association of Malays, Thailand and Philippines which was formed two years ago have not been very effective in stabilising the political situation in this arer

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[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.j The Peking Government have been quick in seizing this opportunity to strengthen their hold in these areas. The main reasons are that there are 20 million Chinese scattered all over this area and secondly the psychological impact they have created in this area by their lightning success in the NEFA campaign against India. afford to ignore We cannot these developments. Most of the small countries in this area which had the greatest admiration 'for India a few years back and in whose liberation India played no small part, have become suddenly cool or indifferent to the Chinese threat to India. It is to be noted that many of them have preferred to remain rather silent than to condemn China not only for violating the Indian soil but also for refusing to accept the modest Colombo proposals. The reading on the wall is clear. The small countries are mortally afraid of the Chinese bully. The Chinese have taken advantage of the fear psychosis of the small nations and are hurriedly entering into all sorts of agreements with them. The recent treaties of China with Nepal, the border and air agreement with Pakistan, the shipping agreement with Ceylon, the border agreement with Burma are not isolated instances but a part of the most sinister plan to dominate Asia by cold war tactics. We should effectively meet this challenge and take immediate action. They should be made to realise that a strong and democratic India alone can be the only guarantee for peace and tranquility in South East Asia. We should intensify our diplomatic offensive in this area and infuse confidence in the people of this area that India will certainly be able to stand to the Chinese bluff and will be capable of hitting back the Chinese if another occasion arises. A few officials or persons in the ministerial ranks going to these places and meeting high personalities will somehow do very little in this snhere. As pointed out earlier by the Prime Minister, Chinese have the launches a propaganda

offensive and our machinery should be geared up to face the challenge in these Epheres. We should have more contacts, more cultural exchanges, more people to people exchanges between India and these countries. We should also think of considering the setting up of an Asian Institute in India where the problems. (he civilisation and the development of each country will be considered and studied by specialists and they should be sent as ambassadors and diplomatic personnel to those countries so that they can go ther, with the background of those respective countries. The Government must also consider the possibility of sending very prominent nonofficials from India to these areas on lecture tours to explain our stand in the present situation. Then only the people in those areas will try to have confidence in us.

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September 16th will be a memorable day because another positive step to assure peace and stability in South East Asia will be taken in form of the Malaysia Federation the comprising of the States of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak now and at a later stage the State of Brunei. Thanks to the farsighted statesmanship and firm leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Malaya, this dream will be a reality soon. India has already welcomed the proposal and lent its support. In fact this Malaysia when formed will be a second line of containment against possible Chinese thrust to the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Through Britain Malaysia will be linked with Thailand so that the Western defence line will run right up to the Southern borders of China. We have also another interest in Malaysia because 10 per cent, of the population will be of peoples of Indian origin. With these phased developments in South East Asia, the Government should take immediate steps to develop Andaman and Nico-bar islands as a strong strategic nava! base to function in times of emer gency.

I would like to nay one word more, namely, about the impending talks of the Government of India with the

friendship

Further the

countries need technicians and other technical

help for their developments. We should be

able to give that help and we must also be able to train a large number of boys and girls from

in

African

and

those countries when they come here.

background

countries.

Pnm_e Minister of Ceylon. I was hoping that the talks will ru_n smoothly but to-day's morning papers announced that Mr. Felix Bandarnaike has issued a statement saying that so far as Ceylon is concerned, they do not recognise these people of Indian origin as Stateless. The very basis of the talks has been shattered. In recent months there has been a great deterioration in the relationship of India and Cevlon. A number of measures have been adopted which have become irksome and which have made the conditions of living of the people of Indian origin in Ceylon practically impossible. Great hopes are being entertained with regard to the forthcoming talks. Before the situation deteriorates, I would only appeal to the Prime Minister, on behalf of those eight lakh people of Indian origin, to have talks soon and come to a settlement that will be beneficial to all. We are sure that the proposed meeting between the Prime Minister of Ceylon and the Prime Minister of India will bear fruit and that positive results will be achieved and this long-standing problem will be settled satisfactorily.

Situation

श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी (उत्तर प्रदेश)ः उपाध्यक्ष महोदया, एक स्वतंत्र देश के नाते जब हम ग्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीय रंगमंच में ग्रवतरित हुए तो संसार दो परस्पर विरोधी गुटों में बंटा हम्रा था, दो गुटों के बीच शीतपुद्ध चल रा था, हिथयारों की होड़ लगी थी और संसार लडाई के कगार पर खडा था। हमारे लिए यह स्वाभाविक था ग्रीर ग्रावश्यक भी कि हम दोनों गुटों से अलग रहने की विदश-नीति श्रपनाते । हमारे मल्क में पहला प्रश्न राष्ट्र का ग्राधिक, सामाजिक ग्रीर पूर्नीनर्माण का था ग्रौर उस के लिए हमें शान्ति की ग्राव-श्यकता थी । हम दुनिया के दूसरे देशों के झगड़े में पड़ने की गलती नहीं कर सकते थे, लेकिन हमारी विदेशी नीति ने यह दावा करते हुए भी कि वह दोनों गुटों से ग्रलग रहेगी श्रीर प्रत्येक प्रमन पर स्वतंत्र रूप से फैसला करेगी, उस के ब्रावरण में उस मर्यादा का

[श्री ए० बी० वाजपेयी]

पालन नहीं किया गया । कुछ उदाहरण दिये जाते हैं तिब्बत के और हंगरी के, मैं कुछ और उदारण जोड़ दूं। ग्रभी तक भारत सरकार ने इजरायल के साथ कटनीतिक संबंध स्थापित नहीं किये । क्या दनिया के सभी देशों के साथ मित्रता स्थापित करने का हमारा प्रयत्न है ? . म ने इसी को माना है श्रीर इजरायल के श्रस्तित्व से कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। लेकिन इजरायल के साथ मारे कटनीतिक सम्बन्ध क्यों नहीं हैं? हमारे राजदूत इजरायल की राजधानी में नहीं है ग्रीर इजरायल के प्रतिनिधि को जो बम्बई में बैठा है, हम नई दिल्ली तक याने की अनुमति देने को तैयार नहीं हैं। ग्रीर मुझे ताज्जब होता है कि इस नीति के समर्थन के लिए ऐसे तर्क दिये जाते हैं जो सारी स्थिति को ारयास्पद बना देते हैं, जो दुनिया में ्में गिराते हैं। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी का ध्यान युनाइटेड नेशन में जो हमारे परमानेन्ट रिप्रेजेन्टेटिव श्री बी० एन० चक्रवर्ती हैं उनके द्वारा २० जुलाई को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जो बात कही गई उसकी श्रोर ध्यान दिलाना चाता हं। यह बताते हुए कि इजरायल के साथ । म ने कटनीतिक सम्बन्ध क्यों नहीं किये, मैं उन के शब्दों को यां पर उद्धत करता ਛੋਂ :---

"Mainly because of <jur inability, there are a number of countries where we have not been able to send envoys, and there are other considerations such as the sentiments of our Muslim population in India which is a very big population—fifty millions—and they feel somewhat more sympathetic on religious grounds to the Palestine Arabs."

मैं समझता हूं, यदि भारत सरकार की नीति का यह कारण है तो बड़ी चिंता की बात है। हमारा देश बहुभाषी देश है, हमारे देश में अनेक मत मानने वाले लोग रहते हैं और हमने उन्हें समानता का अधिकार दिया है। लेकिन विदेश नीति निर्धारण में किसी गृट का मजहब वाधक बनेगा, यह न हमारी श्रसःम्प्रदायिक नीति के अनुकुल है और न हमारी विदेश-नीति को एक स्वस्थ रूप दे सकता 🖣 । मार्शल टीटो ने इजरायल के साथ क्टनीतिक सम्बन्ध स्था-पित किये । धाना श्रीर नाइजीरिया ने इजरायल के साथ कुटनीतिक सम्बन्ध स्थापित किये। इस कारण "युनाइटेड ग्ररब रिपब्लिक के साथ उन की मित्रता" खटाई में नहीं पड़ गई। बर्मा ग्रीर नेपाल ने इजरायल के साथ कट-नीतिक सम्बन्ध स्थापित किये हैं। ऐसा कौन सा भय है जो हमें इजरायल के साथ कुटनीतिक सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने से रोकता है ? ग्रगर हम भयभीत हैं तो हमारी नीति सही नहीं हो सकती है। ग्रभी तक इस का कोई स्पष्टी-करण नहीं दिया गया है।

ग्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति बदली है, बदलती रहती है। क्या यह ग्रावश्यक नहीं है कि इस बदली हई परिस्थिति के अनुसार हम अपनी स्वतंत्र विदेश नीति पर पुनर्विचार करते ? ग्रभी तक मूल रूप से उस को छोड़ने की भावश्यकता खडी नहीं हुई है और मैं आशा करता हूं कि ग्रावश्यकता खड़ी भी नहीं होगी। लेकिन ग्रगर कभी ग्रावश्यकता खडी हो जाये तो फिर यह सुनने के लिए मैं तैयार नहीं रहंगा कि नीति की रक्षा के लिए हम देश के हितों को भी बलिदान करने के लिए तैयार हैं। नीति देश के लिए होती है, देश नीतियों के लिए नहीं होते । ग्राज यह ग्रावश्यक नहीं है कि हम अमरीकी युट में शामिल हो जायें, कोई इस की मांग भी नहीं कर रहा है। हम जो सैनिक शस्त्रों की सहायता चाह रहे हैं, वह हमें मिल रहो है। संकट हमें केवल चीन से ही नहीं है, बल्कि पाकिस्तान से भी काफी संकट है, इसलिए हमें दुढ़ होना चाहिये। शस्त्र हमें चाहे कहीं से मिलें, मगर हमारी नीति वही रहेगी। शस्त्र पुंजीवादी नहीं होते शस्त्र साम्यवादी नहीं होते । शस्त्र पूर्व के नहीं होते, शस्त्र पश्चिम के नहीं होते, शस्त्र जिस के हाथ में भाते हैं उसके होते हैं। भगर वे शस्त्र हमारी सीमा की रक्षा करते हैं, हमारी स्वतंत्रत-

का संरक्षण करते हैं तो वे शस्त्र पवित्र होंगे। जब शस्त्र धरती के पुत्रों के रक्त से रंगे जाते हैं तो पिवत्र हो जाते हैं और जब दुश्मन के रक्त से नहलाये जाते हैं तो और भी पिवत्र होते हैं। कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी के प्रतिनिधि प्रभरोका से हिथार लेने का विरोध करते हैं। हम ने तो स्स से हिथार लेने का विरोध नहीं किया और करने की हमें ग्रावश्यकता भी नहीं है। लेकिन यह देखना होगा कि किस के हिथयार कितने उपयोगी हैं और बदली हुई परिस्थिति में वे हिथयार कितने काम श्रायेंगे। यह देखते समय परिवर्तनशील श्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीति पर दिख्ट रखनी होगी।

मेरा निवेदन हैं कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परि-रियति बदल रही है, शीतयुद्ध घीमा हो गया है, मास्को और वाशिंगटन निकट आ रहे हैं और इस तथा चीन के बीच खाई बढ़ती जा रही हैं। जो देश गुलाम थे उन में आजादी की एक लहर आई है और संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ बनने के बाद ४५ तये देश आजाद हो गये जिनकी आवाज राष्ट्र संघ में सुनी जा सकती है। जो दवे हुए, बैठे हुए हैं व खड़े हो रहे हैं। नीओ समानता के अधिकार के लिए अमरीका में लड़ रहे हैं और वर्ण भेद के प्रति सारी दुनिया में प्रतिरोध का प्रवाह आया हुआ है। 3 P.M.

से भी फांस ग्रलग जा रहा है, स्वतंत्र नीति पर चलने का संकेत दे रहा है। ग्रब केवल विश्व की दो धुरियां मास्को ग्रीर बाशिंगटन ही नहीं हैं। भारत ग्रीर चीन के संघर्ष के कारण दो नई धुरियां पैदा हुई हैं; एक नई दिल्ली है ग्रीर दूसरी पीकिंग है। ग्रब नई दिल्ली राष्ट्रों को ग्रपनी ग्रोर खींच रही है ग्रीर पीकिंग भी ग्रपनी ग्रोर खींचने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है। इस बदली हुई परिस्थिति में हम नान-एलाइनमेंट को एक मंत्र की तरह से नहीं दोहरा सकते। ग्रार नानएलाइनमेंट को ग्रपना रखने का ग्रयं यह है कि हम सब से मित्रता की नीति ग्रपनायों, जहां से सहायता मिले वहां से सहायता लें, तो मैं ऐसी नीति का

हामी हूं। लेकिन यदि नानएलाइनमेंट सैनिक शक्ति के निर्माण में बाधक बनता है या चीन के संकट को कम करके दिखाने की कोशिश करता है या कम्युनिस्ट मित्रों के लिये यह नानएलाइनमेंट एक हथियार बनता है भारत को कमजोर रखने के लिये, तो मैं चाहंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री जी अपने उन शब्दों को फिर से दोहरायें जो चीनी धाक्रमण के बाद उन्होंने कहे थे कि जहां तक चीन का सवाल है हम नानएलाइन्ड नहीं हैं। चीन को परास्त करने के लिये, चीन के चंग्ल में चली गई भारत की भूमि को वापस लेने के लिये हम जो भी उदम उठायेंगे, जिस से भी सहायता लेंगे, हम शतरंज पर जो भी मोहरा रखेंगे वह मोहरा ठीक होगा, वह नीति उचित होगी भौर वह नीति नानएलाइनमेंट के खिलाफ नहीं जा सकती ।

Situation

सरकार ने ब्रिटेन श्रीर श्रमेरिका के साथ हवाई अभ्यासों का समझौता किया है। इस समझौते का सारे देश ने स्वागत किया है कुछ हमारे कम्यूनिस्ट दोस्तों को छोड़ कर। यदि कम्यूनिस्ट मित्र यह कहें कि श्राप ब्रिटेन शौर श्रमेरिका से मदद मत लीजिये शौर जब तक श्राप अपने देश में हथियार नहीं बना लेंगे तब तक चीन हमला नहीं करेगा तो मैं उन का विरोध कुछ समझ सकता हूं। नेकिन उन में से कुछ लोग कितना ही चीन के साथ धनिष्ठ हों, चीन की तरफ से बे यह शास्वासन नहीं दे सकते।

हम रूस से सहायता चाहते हैं, मगर जितनी चाहते हैं उतनी नहीं मिल रही है। मैं जानना चाहूंगा प्रधान मंत्री जी से कि क्या रूस के साथ कोई नये समझौते हुए हैं ? क्या कुछ बातचीत चली है ? क्या सोवियत रूस भागे बढ़ करके हमारी सहायता करने को तैयार है ? सोवियत रूस की सहायता से हम ने मिग कारखाना लगाया है। मिग विमानों की उड़ान का शिक्षण लेने के लिये हम ने कुछ हवाबाय रूस भेषे थे। मैं किसी श्रि ए० बी० बाजनेवी]

रःस्य का उद्घाटन नहीं कर रहा हूं जब मैं यः कहता हं कि जो हवाबाज लौट कर ग्राये हैं, वे कोई ग्रच्छा ग्रनुभव लेकर नहीं ग्राये। उन्हें जो भी शिक्षा दी गई, उस शिक्षा के वे नोटस नहीं ले सकते थे । उसी दिन उन्हें ऐसी कापी दी जाती थी जिस के पन्नों पर नम्बर लिखे हुए थे श्रीर शाम होते ही वह कापी वापस ले ली जाती थी । जब हमारे हवाबाज् चलने लगे भ्रौर उन्होंने रूसी भ्रधिकारियों से कहा कि कृपा करके हमारे वह नोट्स तो बापस दे दीजिये, भारत में उनकी श्रावश्यकता पड़ेगी, तो उन से कहा गया कि वह नोट्स ग्राप को दिल्ली भेज दिये जायेंगे। श्रभी तक बह नोट्स नहीं म्राये हैं। ये हवाबाज गये थे सितम्बर के अन्त में और उन की ट्रेनिंग उसी समय शरू होने वाली थी। योजना यह थी कि २६ जनवरी की गणराज्य परेड में वह हवाबाज मिग विमानों की उड़ान का प्रदर्शन करें, लेकिन भ्रवतुबर में हमारी और चीन की ठन गई तो उनका प्रशिक्षण रोक दिया गया श्रीर प्रशिक्षण तभी जारी हम्रा जब हमारा ग्रीर चीन का यद्ध-विराम हो गया । श्रगर चीन से फिर ्र हमारी लडाई हो गई तो क्या रूस से मिलने बाली सैनिक सहायता खटाई में नहीं पड़ जायेगी? क्या प्रधान मंत्री जी देश को श्रीर सदन को यह विश्वास दिला सकते हैं कि अगर चीन फिर भारत पर हमला करेगा या भारत की जो भीम चीन के ग्रधिकार में चली गई है, उस को वापस लेने के लिये कोई सैनिक कार्यवाही की जानेगी, तो हमें रूस का पुरा समर्थन प्राप्त होगा ? यदि वे यह घोषणा कर सकें तो नानएलाइनमेंट पालिसी के लिये देश में जो समर्थन है, वड ग्रौर बढ़ेगा । लेकिन धगर देश में यह श्राशंका व्याप्त हो कि हमें चीन के विरुद्ध लड़ने के लिये केवल पश्चिमी देशों पर ही निर्भर रहना है, तो फिर कुछ कमज़ोर दिल लोग यह मांग करें कि हम पूरी तर से अमेरिकी गृट में शामिल हो जायें तो ताज्जब नहीं होना चािये श्रीर प्रधान मंत्री **जी उन से रु**ष्ट न हों। यह मांग खड़ी हुई है

तो हमारी कमजोरी से खड़ी हुई है। हम अपनी सीमाओं की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते, इस कारण खड़ी हुई है। अगर शासन कोई ऐसा ठोस कदम लेकर दिखा सके कि म सीमाओं की रक्षा कर सकेंगे, तो हम किसी के पिछलग्यू बन जायें, इसे भारत की जनता कभी स्वीकार नहीं करेगी।

चीन के प्रति हमारी नीति क्या है ? मैं घाशा करता था कि ग्राज प्रधान मंत्री जी **ग्र**पने प्रारम्भिक भाषण में इस बात की घोषणा करेंगे कि चीन ने कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव नहीं माने, ग्रब वर कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव खत्म होते हैं। चीन को हम ने जो सुविधाएं देने की व्यवस्था की है, भव वह सुविधाएं कायम नहीं रहेंगी । लदाख में चीनी बने रहें ग्रौर हम चीन के साथ समझौता की वार्ता शुरू करें भ्रव यह स्थिति जारी नहीं रहने दी जावेंगी । कोलम्बो देशों के समझाने पर हम थोडा दबे थे. लेकिन चीन अगर ग्रकड रहा है तो हम कोलम्बो देशों के प्रस्तावों का समर्थन वापस लेते हैं । ग्राखिर पाकिस्तान के बारे में प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यही किया है। वार्ता टट गई और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कड़ा कि हमने जो कंसेशंस दिये थे, उन्हें हम वापस लेते हैं। मैं उन की घोषणा का स्वागत करता हुं, यद्यपि मैं यह जानना चाहुंगा कि कौन से करोशंस थे ? वापस तो ग्राप ने ले लिये, मगर वे थे क्या, यह भी तो पता लगे। मैं ग्राशा 💆 करता हं कि प्रधान मंत्री जी इस पर प्रकाश डालेंगे । वे कसेशंस हम ने वापस ले लिये, ठीक किया क्योंकि हम नई सुविधाएं दे कर पाकिस्तान को उन सुविधाओं के आधार पर नई मांगें रखने का मौका नहीं देना चाहते। लेकिन जो हम पाकिस्तान के प्रति करने के लिये तैयार हैं, वड चीन के प्रति करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। आज प्रधान मंत्री जी ने प्रातःकाल ग्रपने वक्तव्य में वही पांच सूत्री कार्यक्रम दिया है। मेरां निवेदन है कि उन्होंने लोक सभा में कहा था कि ग्रगर चीन कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों को स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। तो

Colombo proposals fall to the ground. मैफरवरा २५ के उन के शब्दो

International

को उद्धत कर रहा है:

"The Colombo proposals fall to the ground if China does not accept them in

चीन ने तो कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव नहीं माने । अब हम कब तक उनके साथ बंधे रहेंगे। चीन ने प्रधान मंत्री जी के इस प्रस्ताव को भी नहीं माना कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय न्यायालय में यह प्रश्न भेज दिया जाये । चीन इस प्रश्न पर मध्यस्थता के लिये भी तैयार नहीं है। वैसे प्रधान मंत्री जी, जहां तक सार्वभौम सत्ता का प्रश्न है, मध्यस्थता के हामी नहीं रहे। उन्होंने मध्यस्थता के सवाल को ठुकराया था । १२ सितम्बर, १९५६ को उन्होंने कहाथाः

"There can be no mediation, conciliation or arbitration about those demands of the Chinese about large chunks of territory. It is quite fantastic and absurd basing their demands on what happened in the past century."

फिर भी उन्होंने ग्रचानक मध्यस्थता का सुझाव रखा। चीन ने उसे भी नहीं माना। श्रव वह सुझाव ृमें वापस ले लेना चाहिये ग्रीर कोलम्बो देशों से क देना चाहिये कि भ्राप के प्रयत्नों के फलीभूत होने की हमने प्रतीक्षा की, नेकिन ग्राप चीन को नहीं मना सके। ग्रव हम कोलम्बो प्रस्तावों से बंधे हए नहीं हैं।

श्राखिर चीन के प्रश्न पर कहीं तो हमारे हाथ में पहल होती चायि ? क्या हरदम यही होगा कि लड़ाई करे तो चीन करे, युद्ध-विराम करे तो चीन करे, सेना वापस ले जाये तो चीन सेना वापस ले जाये ? और आज फिर पहल चीन के हाथ में है, वह कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव मानता है या नहीं, इसके लिये यम उसका मुं ताक रहे हैं । वा सीमा पर सेनायें इकट्ठी कर रहा है ग्रीर ग्रागे क्या करेगा, इसकी ाम बाट जोह रहे हैं। क्या किया हरदम

चीन करेगा ग्रौर हम केवल प्रतिक्रिया करेंगे ? क्या पहल हमारे हाथ में नहीं द्यायेगी ? सैनिक, कुटनीतिक, राजनैतिक पहल क्या इस संघर्ष में हम अपने हाथ में नहीं ले सकते ? भारत की राजनीतिज्ञता कसौटी पर कसी जा रही है भौर जो प्रस्ताव चीन ने ठकरा दिये हैं, यदि उन को ही दोहराते रहेंगे तो हम इस समस्या को भारत के स्वाभिमान के अनुकूल हल नहीं कर सकते।

Situation

एक बात ग्रीर चीन के सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहता हं। हम इस बात पर बल देते रहे कि चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जगह मिले श्रीर इस के लिये तर्क यह दिया जाता है कि ग्रगर संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में चीन जायेगा तो दुनिया का उस पर भसर होगा, वर् संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के नियंत्रण में चलेगा लेकिन दक्षिण श्रफीका भौर पूर्तगाल के सवाल पर हम संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में भ्रौर उसके बांःर जो नीति प्रपना रहे हैं वह हमारे इस तक का खंडन कर देती है। ग्रगर दक्षिण ग्रफ़ीका को संयक्त राष्ट्र संघ में रख कर वर्ण-भेद की नीति को नहीं छुड़ा सके श्रौर संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ का प्रभाव, उसकी शक्ति, उसका नैतिक बल दक्षिण ग्रफीका को मानवमात्र की समानता कै मार्ग पर ग्राने के लिये प्रेरित नहीं क**र** सका, अगर संयक्त राष्ट्र संघ पूर्तगाल को अपने उपनिवेश छोड़ देने के लिये तैयार नहीं कर सकता तो हम यह कैसे कह सकते हैं कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में चीन का होवा ग्रावश्यक है श्रौर वह उस में चला जायेगा तो वह संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के निर्णयों को मानेगा ग्रीर ग्रपने ग्राकामक रवैये को छोड़ देगा? मुझे लगता है कि हम श्रभी भी सपनों की दुनिया में रह रहे हैं। चीन ग्रगर संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में पहुंचेगा तो उस के हाथ में वीटो म्रायेगा, चीन को भारत के विरुद्ध प्रचार करने का एक विश्वव्यापी मंच मिल जायेगा । वह अभी ही अफीका श्रीर एशिया के श्राजाद होने वाले देशों को हमारे खिलाफ बहका रहा है और क्या चीन को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में ला कर हम अपने

श्चि:ए० वी० व जपेयी

International

लिये एक और नया खतरा मोल लेना चाहते हैं ? लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी कहते हैं, नहीं, हम तो ु जो सही नीति है उस पर डटे रहेंगे, परन्त् य नीति न तो सही है और न इस पर डटे रहने की ब्रावश्यकता है। कम से कम हम तो चीन को संयक्त राष्ट्र संघ में लाने का समर्थन न करें। ग्रगर चीन ग्रन्य देशों के मतों से वां द्या जाये तो फिर कड्या घंट समझ कर उसे पीना पडेगा, लेकिन इतना तो स्वाभिमान हम अपना रखें कि जिस देश ने हम पर आक्रमण किया, कम से कम उसकी वकालत करने की गल्ती न करें।

महोदया. रूस ग्रीर चीन के बीच मतभेद हो रहे हैं, ये मतभेंद बड़े दूरगामी होंगे स्रौर इन मतभेदों को म ऊपरी मतभेद कह कर नहीं टाल सकते । लेकिन एक बात हमें नहीं भूलनी चाहिये कि यं मतभेद साधन के बारे 🏒 में है, साध्य के बारे में नहीं है, मार्ग के बारे में है मंजिल के बारे में नहीं है। दोनों दुनिया को लाल करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन यह दूनिया किस ढंग से लाल होगी, इस में फर्क है। हम इस बात को न भूलें कि भारत ग्रगर कभी कम्युनि ट हो गया, जिस की कोई ब्राशंका नहीं है, सम्भावना नहीं है, श्रीर हम यह होने भी नहीं देंगे, उसके विरुद्ध हमारी लड़ाई चलेगी । लेकिन हम इस सम्भावना को नहीं भुला सकते तो फिर प्रश्न यह होगा कि भारत किस के प्रभाव में रहे? इस वक्त रूस ग्रीर चीन में मतभेद हो सकता है लेकिन भारत कम्युनिस्ट हो जाये इस के बारे में उन में कोई मतभेद नहीं हो सकता। स्पष्ट है कि जहां तक चीन के आक्रमण का सामना करने का प्रश्न है, जो लोकतंत्री देश हैं उन पर ही हमें निभंर रहना होगा। इस का धर्य यह नहीं है कि भारत ग्रीर चीन के संघर्ष में ग्रगर कोई देश तटस्थ रहना चा ते हैं तो उन्हें भी हम कहें कि तुम चीन की तरफ आधो। यह तो बुद्धिमत्ता नहीं होगी। हम ऐंसी गल्ती कभी नहीं कर सकतें। नेकिन हम इस बात को भी नहीं भूल

सकते कि हमारी सीता चीन के साथ लगी हुई है और उस दिन[गृह मंत्री जी ने लोक सभा में कहा कि भारत में एक ऐसी पार्टी है जिसके चीन समर्थक सदस्यों की अगर वह संख्या बतायें तो सदन हैरत में आ जायेगा। म कोई शी विदेश नीति अपनायें, व राष्ट्र के हितों का सरक्षण ग्रौर संवर्धन करने के लिये होनी चाहिये श्रीर ब्राज राष्ट्रको खतरा सीमा पर खड़ी हुई कम्युनिस्ट चीन की सेनाओं से है---हम कहते हैं कि खतरा पाकिस्तान से भी है श्रीर में उससे भी सजग रहना चाहिये लेकिन श्रभी पाकिस्तान पर नियंत्रण करने वाले कुछ पश्चिमी देश हैं जब कि चीन सब के नियंत्रण से निकल गया है। चीन अपने कल के नेतारूस को चुनौती देरा है। व∶∉मारे लोकतंत्रीय ढांचे को समाप्त करने के लिये क्या नहीं करेगा इसकी कल्पना करना कठिन नहीं है ।

Situation

मुझे खेद होता 🕏 देश में यह विवाद हो रहा है कि चीनी फौजें हमला करेंगी या नहीं करेंगी। भविष्यवाणियां की जाती हैं, राजनीतिज्ञ भाषण देते हैं---कर संकता है नहीं भी कर सकता, एक ही सांस में दोनों बातें कह जाते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि य विवाद व्यर्थ है कि चीन हमला करेगा या नहीं करेगा-हमला तो हो चुका है' हमला तो कायम है, हमारी छाती पर चीन पैर रख कर बैठा है भौर हम भपमानित भौर पराजित भन्भव करते हैं--विवाद तो इस बात पर होना चाहिये कि चीन के चंगुल में चली गई भूमि को निकालने के लिये हम क्या करने जा रहे हैं। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा-उनकी नीति दो तरह की है, एक शान्ति से समस्या को हल करने की भ्रौर दूसरी देश की सैनिक शंक्ति को बनाने की-मेरा निवेदन है कि क्या चीन से शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से समस्या हल होने के कोई लक्षण हैं या हम एक नीति के तौर पर शान्ति का उल्लेख करते हैं और दिल में समझते हैं कि यह चीन शान्ति से मानने वाला नहीं है ? किस ने हमें विश्वास दिलाया है, कौन से भासार हैं जो यह बताते हैं कि चीन शान्त से हमें मान लेगा ? हम श्रपनी नीति में बदली हुई परिस्थिति के अनुसार परिवर्तन करें श्रीर इस बात को ध्यान में रखें कि जब हम ने स्वतंत्र विदेश नीति का विकास किया तो में चीन से खतरे की आशंका नहीं थी। तटस्थता की विदेश नीति की सफलता के लिये आवश्यक है कि देश सैनिक और ग्रायिक दृष्टि से सशक्त हो, लेकिन हम ने भक्ति की उपेक्षा की । हम दोनों गटों से ग्रलग रह कर भी सैनिक शक्ति बढा सकते थे। इंडोनेशिया यही कर रहा है, ईजिप्ट यही कर रहा है । मगर हम ने सोचा कि लडाई होगी तो म पंचशील का कवच प नकर मैदान में उतर आयेंगे और शत्र उस कवच को देखते ही बापस चला जायेगा। पंचशील के सिद्धांत में कोई बुराई नहीं है भ्रौर श्रगर मेरे मित्र बुरा न मानें तो कहं कि पंचशील का सिद्धांत धगर दूनिया को कोई दे सकता है तो भारत ही दे सकता है।

International

प्रो॰ मुकुट बिहार लाल (उत्तर प्रदेश): यः नई बात थी।

श्री ए० बी० बाजपेयी : इस में कोई नई बात नहीं थी। लेकिन म इस बात को भल गये कि शान्ति की रक्षा के लिए भी शक्ति चाहिये, दोनों गटों से झलग रहने की नीति की सफलता के लिये भी शक्ति चाहिये। "तटस्थ" का ग्रर्थ है तट पर खड़ा हग्रा, किनारे पर खड़ा हम्रा । किनारे पर कौन खड़ा एह सकता है ? कमजोर ब्रादमी किनारे पर खडा नहीं रह सकता । छोटे मोटे पौधे भी किनारे पर खड़े नहीं रह सकते, जिसकी जडें पाताल से जीवन-रस प्राप्त करती हैं वही किनारे पर आने वाले संघर्ष की लहरों के बीच अपने अस्तित्व को कायम रख सकता है, अपनी सीमा श्रौर श्रपने सम्मान की रक्षा कर सकता है। हम ने विदेश नीति की रक्षा के साथ मेल नहीं बिठाया, इसलिये विदेश नीति भी विफल हो गई ग्रीर हम राष्ट्र की रक्षाभी नहीं कर सके। बदली हुई

परिस्थिति के अनुसार दोनों गुटों से अलग र ने की नीति पर कायम रहते हुए हम राष्ट्र की रक्षा सामर्थ्य को बढ़ाने के लिये प्रयत्न करते जाये, कटनीतिक क्षेत्र में ग्रंपने हाथ में पल लेने का प्रयत्न करें और जीन के संकट के बास्तविक रूप को समझने की कोशिश करें, इस बात की ग्रावश्यकता है। धन्यवाद ।

Situation

SHRI A. D. MANI: Madam Deputy Chairman, the House is grateful to the Prime Minister for his survey of the international situation and for his drawing attention particularly to big issues which now face the world, namely, the signing of the Test Ban Treaty and the issues created by Chinese aggression as well as the ideological split between the Soviet Union and China. I have tabled some amendments regarding the issues to which he made a reference in his speech. One of my amendments, amendment No. 5, deals with the situation in South Viet-Nam. There is a good deal of agreement between both sides of the House on this question and I need not detail the hardships to which the Buddhists in South Viet-Nam have been subjected by the oppressive policies of the Government of President Diem. The Prime Minister said this morning that he would like to leave the matter primarily to the Buddhist countries and that he has been in contact with the Government of Ceylon on this subject. I believe he has also addressed a letter to President Diem. I would submit respectfully to the Prime Minister that in this matter of fundamental human rights, India should take the lead and bring this matter before the United Nations. We raised the issue of persons of Indian origin in South Africa many years ago and that has been one of the perennial items on the U.N. agenda. Similarly, I would suggest that as far as the case of the Buddhists in South Viet-Nam is concerned, we should try to raise this issue as an issue of human rights before the United Nations. It will enable obser-

[Shri A. D. Mani.] vers from South Viet-Nam to be invited by the United Nations or permitted by the United Nations to make statements before the world body. The only way in which we can try to bring about an amelioration in the situation in South Viet-Nam is by the impact of world opinion. In my own amendment I have expressed the view that the House expresses its deep sympathy for the Buddhist population of South Viet-Nam and I have requested the Government to take steps to create world opinion which will lead to the communities at Buddhists and others living in harmony in South Viet-Nam. I would earnestly request the Prime Minister to accept the amendment because anything going from this House will strengthen the struggle 0* the Buddhists in South Viet-Nam for equality of opportunity and freedom of their faith.

I would very briefly refer to another amendment dealing with an expression of regret of this House on the decision of the Government of France not to sign the Test Ban Treaty. France has become singular in this matter, being the only European country which has so far not signed the Test Ban Treaty.

PROF. M. B. LALL (Uttar Pradesh): Albania also.

Shhi A. D. MANI: Albania also, but it is the only West European country which has not signed the Test Ban Treaty. I believe that the Government of France wants to experiment with its weapons in the Pacific and already the Government of New Zealand has lodged a protest with the Government o'f France against the decision of the French Government to experiment nuclear weapons in the Pacific. I do not know what the Government of India's stand is in this matter. I have not so far seen anything in the press that the Government has taken up this matter earnestly with the Government of France and conveyed to them their feelings of displeasure

and regret that the French Government has not signed the Test Baa Treaty.

Having "disposed of these two subjects, I would go on to my other amendments relating to the holding, of joint air exercises in India and expressing approval of the steps the Government has taken for holding joint air exercises with the Air Forces of the United Kingdom and the United States of America. I listened very carefully to what (he Prime Minister said about the border situation. I have also before me a statement that he made in the other House on August 26, where he was asked a number of questions about the position tff the Chinese posts in the 20 kilometre demilitarised zone in Ladakh. I quote from the newspaper report. According to newspaper reports the Prime Minister said: -

"It was quite possible that in the civil posts there were people with arms."

He is not sure about what the position is. It says: —

'Terhaps they were volunteers with some kind of arms. They are described as civil posts. Perhaps the posts were five or six miles away from our lin\$."

The position today, as a result of the ceasefire arrangement, is that we have abided by every line of the Colombo proposals, while the Chinese Government has . virtually ignored them and we do not know what the Chinese Government are doing in the demilitarised zone. I should like to ask the Prime Minister: How long are these Colombo proposals to be in force? Are we bound by them for all time? What I am afraid is that the demilitarised zone may become in future like the cease-fire line in Kashmir. We should not allow that situation to develop. We should impose a time-limit and tell the Colombo Powers that when the timelimit expires we are not bound by the Colombo

proposals and that we are free to take any steps that we like to recover lost territory. The Prime Minister said tirs morning that we should explore all peaceful means for settling this dispute. I entirely agree with him and the House will agree with him that in the matter of border disputes a country does not launch a war to settle a border question. But there must be some limit to sel'f-restraint. In the name of peace we cannot allow a part of the territory to be occupied by a foreign power and not take aggressive steps to recover it. What I would like the Government to do is this. After the Colombo proposals from our side are not binding, that is to say, we will give notice to the Colombo Powers that their proposals are not binding after a certain date, we should take steps to recover lost territories.

I tell my good friend, Mr. Govindan Navar. that on the question of joint air exercises I do not think that the views which his Party holds on this matter are shared by other Parties in this country.

AN HON. MEMBER: Nobody.

SHKI A. D. MANI: On this question of joint air exercises there is a good deal of agreement between the Government and others, including those who took part in the no confidence. motion in the other House. The Government carrie, with it a substantial part of the country in their decision to hold joint air exercises and we hope that in the event of an emergency the Government will not hesitate to ask for the assistance of the United States and the Government of Great Britain to come to the aid of India in the event of renewed Chinese aggression.

I should like to refer very briefly—my time is limited-to our relations with Pakistan. I do not think the Prime Minister made any detailed reference to this subject. But I understand from the reports that are available in the press that very re-«ently the British High Commissioner

in Pakistan met President Ayub Khan. According to a report from Shri K. S. Shelvankar, who was till the other day a publicity expert of the Government of India during the period of the emergency, the British High Commissioner in Pakistan saw President Ayub Khan over the week-end and it is reliably reported that Mr. Ayub Khan has agreed to give a qualified acceptance of the mediation proposal. This is in "The Hindu" of August, 13. I do not know how far the Government of India is still bound by the mediation proposals which they accepted and which they waited for Pakistan to accept. Frankly, and it is a matter where I agree with Premier Chou En-lai completely, arbitration is a most unsuitable method of settling boundary disputes or disputes regarding the sovereignty of any part of a country. Premier Chou En-lai has taken that stand in one of hi» letters. We feel that the acceptance of any mediation proposal would amount to giving up the stand that we had taken at the United Nations, whenever this question came up for discussion for many years. Once we accept mediation, we accept also implicitly that there is a case for dispute. Our stand has always been that the Kashmir issue is closed and this was the position taken by the former Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, when he presented our case in the Security Council. My amendment calls upon the Government not to reopen talks with Pakistan in the present context of Pakistan's collaboration with China in many matters.

Situation

I would like to refer here to the signing of the recent Pakistan-China air agreement. I would request the Prime Minister to go through the records of this House and I was astonished when the Minister of Communications answering the question the other day in this House said that he felt that it was not discreet for him to make any enquiry from Pakistan about the terms of the air agreement. The Prime Minister is a master of English and he knows that the word "discreet"" is generally applied to sentimental

[Shri A. D. Mani.]

affairs. Here was a case where this agreement was signed with the Government of Pakistan for Pakistan's traffic over Indian airspace, and no enquiry was made by the Government of India even about the terms. It is only two days ago that the Pakistan Government has published a text of this agreement. Madam, I would like to suggest to Government that they should not allow Pakistan's service to China to fly over Indian territory. We do not know which personnel they will be carrying because we have no means of checking it. We do not know whether they will be carrying munitions of war from one side to the other. At least selfrespect demands that when we are virtually at war with China, we should not allow planes carrying Chinese personnel or allow a service operating 'from Pakistan to China to fly over Indian airspace.

Madam, I would like to make one more suggestion regarding our attitude to China. China has chosen to enter into an agreement with Pakistan over the disputed territory of Kashmir, and that has been referred to in the correspondence which has passed bet-| ween us and Peking. The admission of China to the United Nations General Assembly as a member is shortly -to come up for discussion, and while our stand has all along been that the universality of membership of the United Nations requires that China should be admitted to the United Nations, I would request the Government of India to consider seriously supporting the case of Formosa for admission to the United Nations.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: It is already a member.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I am sorry. What I had in mind was that we should support the existence of two Ghi-in in theory. There is enough support for it because the oppressive regime in China does not allow many of its people who would like to express their opinion to express it freely

that they would like to go to Formosa. We should extend our support to the Formosa Government on many matters.

There is one other point to which I would like to refer, and that is the question of South Africa. I would like to ask the Prime Minister whether the Government of India has made up its mind on the question of the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations and from its auxiliary bodies. There is a statement of Mr. Naval Tata dated July 8th, made on his return from Geneva where he had gone to represent our country at the International Labour Conference. Mr. Naval Tata says that the Indian delegation was asked to vote for the expulsion of South Africa at this meeting. He says here: "But another instruction came within 24 hours asking the Indian delegation to continue to participate in the proceedings of the Conference". He says further: "These opposing directives caused embarrassment to the Indian delegation and upset their working." I believe that the question of explusion of South Africa from the United Nations General Assembly is likely to come up for discussion at the forthcoming session. If it comes up, I think that there is a very sound case for the Government of India voting for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations because even U.S. opinion as far as I can see seems to be in favour of South Africa being expelled from the United Nations' bodies. The U.S. delegate did not take a positive stand when the question came up at the I.L.O. and other conferences. I do hope that the Government of India will strengthen the Afro-Asian powers by voting for the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

श्री बजिक्किशोर प्रसाद सिंह (बिहार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, ग्राज की ग्रन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति बड़ी विकट परिस्थिति है ग्राँर ग्राज हम बड़ी बड़ी घटनाओं के बीच में से गुजर रहे हैं। इन बड़ी घटनाओं में यह एक

घडी घटना है जाग्रत चीन भीर जाग्रत भारत के बीच महान संघर्ष की । हमने चीन का दोस्ती पर विश्वास किया और चीन की बातों पर विश्वास किया जिसका नतीजा यह हुन्रा कि चीन ने हमारे देश के काफी धडे क्षेत्रफल पर कब्जा कर लिया ग्रीर ग्राज भी ग्रपने कब्जे में उस क्षेत्र को रखा हग्रा है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में हमारे सामने सबसे बड़ा कर्तव्य होता है कि हम जल्द से जल्द उस जमीन को जो चीन ने नाजायज ढंग से श्रपने कब्जे में कर ली है फिर से भारतवर्ष के ग्रनिकार में लेलें।

इस सम्बन्ध में हमें जो भी कदम उठाना चाहिये वह शांति का खयाल रखते हुए ऐसा होना चाहिये जिससे हम ग्रपनी जमीन को वापस पा सकें शांति से तो बहुत खुत्र । लेकिन चीन का जो रवैया है, संसार की राजनीति जिस ढंग पर जा रही है, उससे मुझे विश्वास महीं होता कि शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से चीन इन इलाकों को हमें वापस करेगा। इसलिये हमें तो उस दिन की याद रखन है जिस दिन हमें मजबूरन सैन्य संचालन के द्वारा इन इलाकों को ष्रपने अधिकार में करना होगा। लेकिन मैं पह चेतावनी देना चाहता हं क्योंकि मेरे चन्द दोस्तों ने मुझ से पहले कहा कि हमें जल्द से जल्द कार्यवाही करनी चाडिये ताकि वड इलाका हमारे पास चला भावे। मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हं कि जो भी कदम हम उठावें वह मजबूती के साथ होना चाहिये, मजबूती इस माने में जब हम परी तैयारी कर लें। जब हमें यह भरोसा हो जाये सेंटपरसेंट, जिसको लोग शतप्रतिशत क ते हैं, भरोसा होने की तम्भावना नहीं है ग्रीर उसके लिये हमें इन्तजार नहीं करना चािये । लेकिन जब में यह भरोसा हो जाये, श्रच्छा भरोसा हो जाये. सैनिक कार्यवाही के लिये उतनी तैयारी कर लें कि हम उन जगहों को वापस ले सकें, तब ही हमें ग्रामे कदम बढ़ाना चाहिये। तब तक हमें यह कोशिश करनी चािये कि शांति पूर्ण तरीके से कोई हल निकल जावें

श्रौर हमें अपनी सैन्य^{्र}शक्ति को बढ़ाते चला*र्* जाना चार्िये । सैन्य शक्ति को बढाने में हमें किसी भी रूढि या किसी भी सिद्धांत का खयाल नहीं करना चाहिये। मगर चन्द बातों का खयाल रखकर हमें भ्रपनी सैन्य शक्तिको बढाना है।

Situation

मैं देखता हं कि सैन्य शक्ति को वढाने में काफी कदम उठाये गये हैं ग्रीर ग्राज ही सुबद हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री जी ने जो बयान दिया उसमें साफ कहा कि हमें अपने को मजब्त करना चाहिये और इस सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ भी करना चाहिये वह हम नहीं कर रहे हैं। नेफा इन्क्वायरी की जो रिपोर्ट ब्राई उसके बाद ही नहीं बल्कि जब से हमारे देश के ऊपर हमलाहुआ, चीत का तब से हम 🗔 सतर्क हो गये हैं और दिन प्रतिदिन अपनी सैन्य शक्ति को बढ़ा रहे हैं। हम इस दिशा में काफी कोशिश कर रहें हैं ग्रौर काफी इन्त-जाम कर रहे हैं जिससे कि हमारी ताकत । लेकिन कभी कभी इस ऐसे तत्व शरीर भारतवर्ष में है और हृदय विदेशों में । जिनको जबान से बातें तो देशमिक्त की निकलती हैं लेकिन हृदय में उनकी भक्ति किसी दूसरे के प्रति रहती है। हम जब कोई कदम उठाते हैं भ्रीर वह कदम ऐसा होता है कि जिससे हम कुछ पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों के नजदीक जाये, या ऐसा कदम हो जिस कदम से हम पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों के नजदीक जायें या न जायं, जब हम साम्यवादी देश के नजदीक न जायं तो वह हल्ला उठाते हैं कि हमारी तटस्थता को जो नीति है वह मारी जा रही है। मैं तटस्थता की नीति में विश्वास करता हुं पर मेरे लिये तटस्थता की नीति नीति-माव है, मेरे लिये वह रूढि नहीं है। मैं समझता हं कि चीन से देश की सुरक्षा का जब सवाल ग्रायेगा वहां हमें हर तरह से देश की रक्षा करनी होगी । श्राज के जमाने में, श्राज की राजनीति में तटस्थता हमारे लिये ग्रावश्यक है क्योंकि संसार में दो बड़ी घटनायें हो रही

International

हैं। एक तरफ तो रूस और चंन के बीच की जो खाई है व तेजी से बढ़ती चली जा रही है। मारे चन्द पूर्व वक्ताओं ने कहा है कि चाहे खाई कितनी ही बड़ी क्यों न हो, दोनों का ध्येय एक ही है सिर्फ रास्ते जुदा जुदा / हैं। दोनों में फर्क सिर्फ यड है कि किस रास्ते. संसार को साम्यवादी बनाया जाये । लेकिन सिर्फ सिद्धांत के रास्ते का ही फर्क नहीं है। श्राज तो मैं देख रहा हं कि चीन और रूस के ब च भौतिक बातों को ले कर भी झगडा बढा चला जा रहा है। चीन ने कितने नक्शे निकाले, कितनी कितावें छपवाई जिन में कुछ इलाकों को जो ग्राज रूस के कब्जे में हैं, चीन का क्षेत्र बतलाया गया है। ग्रभी चार पांच दिन पहले हम लोगों ने पढ़ा था कि जहां चीन िन्द्रस्तान की सरहद पर अपनी फौज बढ़ारता है वहां मध्य एशिया में भी रूस की सरहद पर चीन अपनी फीज को बढा रहा है। इन बातों से साफ जाहिर होता है कि चीन भ्रौर रूस का झगड़ा सिर्फ रास्तों का झगड़ा नहीं है, उनका झगड़ा एक भौतिक जामा प न रहा है । उनके जो मैटीरियल इंट्रेस्ट हैं उनमें ग्रापस में विरोध पैदा हो गया है श्रीर श्रगर ऐसे वक्त में हम पश्चिमी गट में मिल जायेंगे तो यह एक तरह से हम रूस को नोटिस देंगे, चीन को नोटिस देंगे कि फिर श्रपनी खाई पाट लो, ग्रीर फिर तुम दोनों मिल जाग्रो, यह चीज हमारे लिये बड़ी खतर-नाक होगी ।

मैं सब से दोस्ती चाहता हूं । शाज मझे पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों पर अधिक भरोसा है, लेकिन पश्चिमी राष्ट्र तो सात हजार मील दूर हैं और रूस की सरहद हमारी सरहद से मिलती है। जैसा कि खश्चेव ने कहा था जब वे कश्मीर में गये थे कि हमारा और तम्हारा इतना नजदीक का सम्बन्ध है कि यदि तुम अपनी सरहद की चोटी से आवाज दो तो हम एक क्षण में तुम्हारे यहां आ जायेंगे। तो जो रूस हतना नजदीक है, इतना बलगाली है, उस

रूस से और हमारा जो खास दृश्मन है, जो हमारा सबसे बड़ा दृश्मन है, उससे विरोध बढ़ा चला जा रहा है, श्रीर ऐसे वक्त में म ग्रपनी नीति को छोड दें तो उसका धसर यह होगा कि यह बलशाली राष्ट जो है बर हमारे विरोध में हो जायेगा और फिर चीन ग्रीर रूस का एक गट बन जायेगा। इसलिये मैं समझता हं कि बाज की परिस्थिति में हमें तटस्थता की नीति ही बरतनी चाहिये। लेकिन बराबर तटस्थता की नीति के गलत माने दिये गये, वे जो चाहें उसके माने लगाते हैं। जैसे अभी हमारी मिली जली हवाई कसरतों की बात ग्राई, कुछ पता नहीं उनके दिमाग में क्या है, वे तटस्थता की नीति के क्या माने लगाते हैं, उन्होंने कहना ग्ररू किया कि यह तटस्थता की नीति के विरुद्ध है। मैं तो विरुद्ध नहीं मानता हं, लेकिन अगर यह तटस्थता की नीति के विरोध में भी हो तो भी जब तक हमें कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं मिलता है जिससे । म श्रपनी सीमाओं की सुरक्षा करें तब तक राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा के हित में श्रौर राष्ट्र की जिन्दगी के हित में कहुंगा कि हमें ऐसी मिली जली कवायदें ग्रमल में लानी चाहियें।

Situation

प्रो० मुकुट बिहारी लाल : देश की रक्षा के लिये जरूरत पड़ने पर उस नीति को भी त्यागना होगा ।

श्री बनिकारि प्रसाद सिंह: यही तो मैंने कहा कि मैं मानता हूं कि कोई नीति हमारे लिये धर्म नहीं है और सर्वकालीन नहीं है । जब देश के हित में कोई नीति नहीं रहती है तो उस नीति को छोड़ना ही पड़ता है।

यह दूसरा भ्रम जो हमारे दोस्त फैलाते हैं वह चीन की तरफ से हमारा ध्यान खीचना है। जब जब चीन ग्रागे बढता है, जब जब चीन कोई ऐसी कार्यवाही करता है जिससे हमारे देश में एक तुफान चीन के खिलाफ पैदा होता है तो वह हजरात जो हैं वे ले ग्राते

हैं पिकस्तान श्रीर काश्मीर की बात । कहते हैं कि हमारा बड़ा दुश्मन चीन नहीं है । क ते हैं कि हमारा बड़ा दुश्मन तो पिकस्तान है। पिकस्तान हमारा बड़ा दुश्मन चीन से हो, मैं तो समझता हूं कि जिसे दृष्टि है या बुढ़ि है, वह शायद इस बात को मानने को तैयार नहीं होगा। वेशायद इस बात को नहीं मानते हैं। वे ऐसी बातें इसलिये कहते हैं ताकि चीन की तरफ से हमारा ध्यान खिच जाये और पिकस्तान की तरफ हम.रा ध्यान लग जाये तो जब हम श्रपनी शिवत को बढ़ा रहे हैं तो ऐसे तत्वों से हमें सतर्क रहना चाहिये श्रीर उनकी बातों में नहीं पड़ना चाहिये।

हम अपनी शवित बनायें तो इतनी बात में सही मानता हं जो हमारे जनसंघ के प्रति-निधि ने कही कि हमें मख्यत: मदद मिलेगी पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों से। रूस ग्रौर चीन के बीच में कितनी ही क्यों न खाई चौड़ी हो जाये. नेकिन लड़ोई के मैदान में रूसी ग्रा करके भीर हमारे कंधे से कंधा मिला करके चीनियों से लड़ेंगे, इसका मझे विश्वास नहीं होता है श्रीर श्रभी तक नहीं हुआ है। तो जितनी पश्चिमी देश मारी मदद कर सकते हैं चीन के झगड़े में उतनी मदद रूस नहीं कर सकता है, य**ं तो सत्य है ग्रीर इसको ग्राज की परि**-स्थिति में सत्य मानता हं । तो ऐसे हालात में हम जो भाकदम उठावें, वे जरूर ऐसे कदम हों कि जिनमें मारी तटस्थता की नीति न बदले श्रीर हमारी तटस्थता की नीति पर श्रांच न श्राये। लेकिन हमें इस बात का भी खयाल रखना चाहिये कि हम ऐसी बातें न करें. ऐसा कदम न उठायें, जिनसे पश्चिमी राष्टों के दिल में ठेस लगे। ग्रभी चन्द महीने पहले जब एयर अम्बरैला या हवाई छाते की बात ब्राई श्रौर हमारे चन्द साम्यवादी भाइयों ने जो बड़ा ह-हल्ला मचाया, तो उस वनत श्रमरीकी राजदूत को सप्र हाउस में कहना पड़ा कि ग्रगर ग्राप यह समझते हों कि हम श्रपने हित में यहां हा रहे हैं तो यह गलत है। हम अपने हितों की रक्षा भारतवर्ष की

सीमाओं से बाहर भी र कर कर सकते हैं। तो हम अगर बराबर इस दृष्टिकोण से काम करेंगे और कदम उठायेंगे कि यई तो अमरीका और विलायत के हित में है हमारी मदद करना, इसलिये हम चाहे जो भी बात करें, जो भी कदम उठायें, वे हमारी मदद करते ही रहेंगे, यह धारणा में समझता हूं कि जायज धारणा नहीं है। इसलिये हम जो भी कदम उठायें, जो भी बातें करें, उसमें हमें खगाल रखना चाहिये कि हम तटस्थता की नीति को बरतते हुए ऐसी बातें न करें जिससे पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों को ठैस लगे।

महोदया, ये तो बहत बडी बातें हैं, श्रौर इन बही बातों के साथ छोटी बातों का भी सरोकार होता है क्योंकि ग्रगर छोटी बातों का हम खयाल न करें, छोटी बातों पर ध्यान न दें तो बड़ी बातें शायद जहां की तहां घरी रह जायेंगी । आज हमारे और चीन के बीच में जो संघर्ष है उसमें जहां हम बड़े राष्ट्रों की सदभावना के इच्छक हैं, जहां हम श्रमरीका श्रीर विलायत की सदमावना के इच्छ्व हैं, वहां हमारे छोटे छोटे जो एशिया के राष्ट्र हैं उनकी सद्भावना का इच्छ्क हमें बनना पड़ेगा। ये छोटे हैं, इसलिये हम इनकी तरफ गौर न करें, इनकी तरफ खयाल न करें, यह मैं समझता हं कि ठीक नहीं होगा । इन देशों से तो हमारा सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध रहा है। इन देशों का धर्म मुख्यतः बौद धर्म है जिसने भारतवर्ष में जन्म लिया । बद्ध गया से जो बौद्धों का प्राचीन तीर्थ है, सिर्फ भारतीय बौढ़ों का नहीं, संसार के सब बौद्धों का प्राचीन तीर्थ है, मेरा बहत निकट का सम्बन्ध रहा है और आज भी है। वहां जो विदेशों से बीड ग्राते हैं, मैंने उनकी धार्मिक भावनाओं को देखा है और यह भी देखा है कि भारत के लिये उनके हृदय में कितना प्रेम है। मैं मंगोलिया गया था। मंगोलिया जो एक साम्यवादी राष्ट्र है वहां मैंने देखा कि किस कदर वहां की जनता को भारतवर्ष से प्रेम था और वं सिर्फ इसलिये

[श्री बनिक्शोर प्रसाद सिंह] कि भारतवर्ष ने बृद्ध को जन्म दिया था, भारतवर्ष जो है उसमें बद्ध गया उनका मुख्य तीर्य स्थान है। तो इन सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्धों का, प्राचीन सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्धों का, जिनका माज भी महत्व है, हमें फायदा उठाना चाहिये और हमको उन देशों से ज्यादा दोस्ती बढ़ानी चाहिये । इन देशों में हमें तपे तपाये कटनीतिज्ञ, जिनको कहते हैं एक्सपीरियंस्ड डिप्लोमेट्स, उनको भेजना चायि जो वहां की जनता की भावनाओं का खयाल रख कर हमारे काम को वहां आगे बढ़ायें। कुछ दिन पूर्व मेरे एक मित्र इन पूर्वी देशों से आये थे और उन्होंने मझसे कहा था कि इन देशों में जहां चाइना ऋीर रशिया कल-कारखाने खोल रहे हैं वहां हम कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं जहां चाइना ग्रीर रशिया ग्रस्पताल खोल रहे हैं वहां हम च्पचाप बैठे हैं। इन देशों में उनका प्रेम तो मारे साथ वैसे है. लेकिन वहां विद्या की कमी है, वहां दवाग्रों की कमी है, वहां अस्पतालों की कमी है, व ा इंजीनियरों की कमी है। आज हम अपने देश को बना रहे हैं और हमें इन पेशेवरों की **जरूरत** हिन्दूस्तान में ही है, लेकिन हमारा इतना बड़ा देश है कि हम थोड़े से लोगों को थोडे से डाक्टरों को, इंजोनियर्स ध्रौर टीचर्स को यहां से भेज सकते हैं उन मुल्कों में ग्रीर ग्रगर वे वहां जाकर काम करेतो भारतवर्ष के प्रति उन देशों के लोगों की सद्भावना बढ़ेगी ग्रौर जब भारतवर्ष के प्रति इन छोटे देशों में सदमावना बढ़ेगी तव हम शक्तिशाली बनेंगे भीर चीन से जो हमारा संबर्ष चल रहा है उसमें हम कामयाव होंगे ।

International

ग्राखिर में मैं इतना काना चाहता हूं कि ग्राज दक्षिणी वियतनाम में बौद्ध धर्मियों पर श्रत्याचार हो रहा है। उनके धार्मिक ग्रधिकार कुचले जा रहे हैं। या तो मानवीय ग्रधि-कारों का प्रश्न है और हमारी संस्कृति और हमारी ग्राज की नीति दोनों यह कहते हैं कि जब इन पर हमला हो वहां हमें उनकी सहायता करनी चाहिये ।

तो जो कांफेंस बुलाई जा रही है उसमें हमें सहयोग देना है और संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में हमें प्रयत्न करना है कि ऐसे कदम उठाये जायें, ऐसी कार्यवाही की जाये ताकि दक्षिणी वियतनाम के बौद्धों के साथ जो अत्याचार हो रहा है वह बन्द हो जाये।

मैं समझता हूं कि आज तक स्मारी सरकार ने जो नीति बरती है वह सही नीति है। -मैं यह नहीं कहता कि गलतियां नहीं हुई। लेकिन मुझे एक शेर याद आता है, मैं फारसी नहीं पढ़ा हूं फिर भी मैं उसको कहता हूं:

"गिरते हैं शर् सवार ही मैदाने जंग में, वह तिफल क्या गिरे कि जो घुटनों के बल चले।"

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) :यह तो उर्दू हैं।

श्री सजिकिशोर प्रसाद सिंह: जी हां। तो जो विरोधी दल के लोग हैं उनको कुछ करना नहीं है, हमें करना है। हम हजारों काम करते हैं तो सौ पचास गलत काम होंगे ही लेकिन देखना यह है कि श्राम तौर पर, मोटे तौर पर हमने सही कदम उठाया या गलत कदम उठाया। हमने जो नीति वरती है वह सही नीति वरती है श्रीर में समझता हूं कि श्रागे इसी नीति पर चल कर हम कामयाव होंगे श्रीर हमारा जो हिस्सा दूसरे के कब्बे में है उसे फिर वापस ले लेंगे।

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, since the last debate on foreign policy many changes have taken place in the international situation and the Prime Minister referred to them in his speech this morning—the nuclear test ban treaty, the conflict between Russia and China and the developments in South Vietnam. With regard to the latter we are all glad that the Government of

India has sent a protest against ttte persecution of Buddhists by the Government of President Diem. But I wish this regard for other peoples' right had been awakened in the Prime Minister's mind when in a neighbouring country a Government was guilty of similar acts of persecution. The Ceylon Government under its present leadership has organised regular persecution of Catholics in that country. Catholic schools have been overnight taken over by the Government and even when they wanted to run them, the right to levy fees was taken away from them, and even when they wanted to raise donations in order to run these schools, the Government came down upon them levving high income-tax on these donations. No protest was made against this persecution of the Catholics in Ceylon. Not that I am against the persecution of Buddhists, but our feeling for other peoples' rights must be widespread.

International

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: Even the Pope did not protest.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Why should the Pope protest?

SHRI M. N. GOVINDAN NAIR: He protested against the persecution of Buddhists in South Viet-Nam.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Why should he when there are protest Catholics in Cevlon to take care of their rights and liberties? I am glad to find that our Communist friend was solicitous about the opinions of the Pope. But it is still going to be non-alignment because in some indirect way the Prime Minister thinks that all these developments for the good that have taken place have been due to our policy of non-alignment. World peace, he claimed, was due to our policy. Well, it is like spectators claiming credit account of the moral support to the winning side when that side wins. But still it has something to contribute to the intensification of the desire for peace all round.

But in regard to non-alignment, has the Prime Minister considered this ironic comment upon the policy of

non-alignment that almost all the non-aligned Powers—India, Egypt, Yemen, South Arabia, Indonesia—have been at one time or the other engaged in war. They have been the subject of war. Not a single—I want it to be noted—nonaligned Power raised its little finger in favour of India when China organised its aggression against us. The Western comment upon our policy towards the Western Powers, after the aggression of China, is that Western friendship is sought by India as a kind of cover for its rear when aggression is repeated. Till the time of aggression, our policy towards China had been one of appearement.

I was rather astonished the other day when the Prime Minister in his speech on the Noconfidence Motion in the other House said that there was nothing wrong with appeasement. But did he forget then the historical and political connotation of that word? Appeasement is associated with the men of Munich. Appeasement is pacification of a superior by one who is weaker in strength in arms, pacification of a crocodile is not a'thing that pays in the long run because the crocodile after consuming one weak person after another, at last comes to you. But in practice, I am glad to note, as I noted before, that the Prime Minister's practice is much better than his creed. He has asked for massive equipment from the Western Powers. He has welcomed the so called 'Air Exercises'. Why should he not go a step forward and ask for help in Forces also? If he does not like the term 'military alliance' there are other forms of alliances which do not look so glaring. There are *ententes*, understandings, conversations between one Power and another which may be treated by India in regard to future military Such ententes, military collaboration. conversations and understandings preceded the War of 1914-1918, which brought England to the side of France. Similarly, we may have such understandings, conversations between our representatives and the representatives of the Western Powers so that when there is next aggression,

not only df equipment but also of Forces.

International

Then I come to that sensational incident about which the Prime Minister was rather silent today, and that was Agreement. Here was an $V \cap A$ agreement which on the whole would have favoured our propaganda against the This agreement received the initial approval of the Prime Minister and I think it was signed, according to the records, by the representatives of the two parties. But subsequently, soon after, realised that it was the Prime Minister against the foreign policy of the country, and so he is trying to get this agreement modified. It is astonishing, Madam Deputy Chairman, that on an important question like this the Prime Minister, the Minister of External Affairs, should not have at the start realised the implications of the V.O.A. agreement. Is it because he was preoccupied with other tasks or was he too busy as the Minister of External Affairs to attend to this small matter of agreement? This leads me to make what may be considered an imsuggestion that pertⁱnent the Prime Minister should divest himself of the portfolio of External Affairs. He will still continue to be the Prime Minister and as Prime Minister he will have overseeing charge of the Ministry of External Affairs as of every other Department. No Prime Minister in the world of a modern saddles himself with country anv particular portfolio. In recent years Mr. Ramsay MacDonald did it to the detriment of the conduct of English foreign policy. He very soon abandoned and gave it over to Mr. Henderson.

4 P M

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): What gives you the assurance that if he divests himself of that portfolio, the agreement with the VOA will go through?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: I am not interested at all in the VOA

Agreement but I think he would have paid more attention to the implications of the VOA Agreement then and there as soon as it waa brought before him.

Situation

PROF. M. B. LAL: He might have rejected before.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Although his policies, I can see, or his acts and actions are against the philosophy of non-alignment, he cannot assure Us that the policy of non-alignment will be given up. It is a soothing formula. We have such formulae used by some people in religious practices and religious ceremonies which give them some comfort and consolation. It is a kind of mystique which even materialists develop. For instance, our friends, the Communists have a mystique of their own, the mystique of Karl Marx, the mystique of Lenin, who are all considered to be infallible. But why should we have this ugly word 'nonalignment'? Cannot a more positive word be discovered by the Prime Minister? What is wrong with the word 'neutralism'? Neutralism at least is a positive, active word, although if you look at the Latin origin of that word, neutralism comes from the word neuter which means nothing.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: (Andhra Pradesh): You are suggesting that word?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: This menace of the Chinese is not a passing phase. The history of China shows us a series of incursions by the Chinese whenever they were in power, into Tibet, into Siam, into Burma, into the old Indo-China. Like Russia, China has not renounced the legacy of its former rulers. Just as the Russian Communist Government has inherited its policy of expansionism from the Czars, so also the present Communist Government of China has inherited its expansionist policy from its predecessors. It has begun to put forward racial claims and says that Sikkim and Bhutan, because they are inhabited by people belonging to the Mongolian race, are considered to be part

of China. We are glad that the Government of India has given assurances to these two State3 that they will come to their aid if they are attacked. But can we be militarily sure that we can defend by ourselves Sikkim and Bhutan? It is fill very well to assure ourselves that we can defend ourselves but here are these two small States, weak States, protectorates so to say, and they depend for their security, for their freedom from invasion, on us. Have we the assurance to give them? Have we the confidence to give them that militarily we shall be able to secure their freedom? Can India do it alone end that is why with regard to the protection of these people, with regard to our protection, I would advise an all-out request for all kinds of help from the Western Powers.

International

Why should we give the initiative always to China? It is the Chinese that have taken the initiative at every stage. Why do not we lake the initiative? Why do we not take the initiative in organising a line of defence of all the South East As an Powers from India right up to Japan and including Formosa and even Australia? It is an old saying, I think it was a saying which dates from Kautilya:' My enemy's enemies are my friends' and that is a wise principle in diplomacy as well as in foreign policy. Instead of non-alignment which is an ideology and therefore rigid, we want a more flexible poMcy. If the Prime Minister will not Ms+en to me, I think he will listen to Lord Acton, who is not only a great student of history but also a great diplomat and politician. He says in one of his writings: "If a principle is set up in regard to foreign policy. will you not sacrifice your country to it, will you not prefer your party which represents your principles to your country which represents none but itself?" That is the danger of all these rigid formulae and policies. A good substitute for alignment or neu-

trality would be a policy of the defence of nat onal interests. Nationalism, independence, these would be good policies. I would say, preservation of our national interests, the promotion of our national interests, the defence of our independence and freedom these would be much better principles or policies than non-alignment. Shri K. P. S. Menon, who was our Ambassador in Russia till the other day has published a book of his reminiscences—The Flying Troika —and there in his concluding words he says that he hopes that the aggression of China will infuse a tone of realism into the foreign policy of this country, that is to say a foreign policy of promoting our national interests, not through any philosophy, not through any ideology but by changing our policy from time to time according to the dictation of our national interests, in order to preserve our national interests, in order to promote our national interests, the interests of our country, the interests of freedom and independence, that is, a foreign policy which is worthy even of the Congress Party and of the Prime Minister.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): About the most hopeful event that has taken place during the post-war period is the limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty among the three nuclear Powers, the U.S.A. the U.S.S.R. and Britain. It is regrettable that France and China are not signatories of this treaty. General de Gaulle has dreams of reviving the glories of France and China is, as we know, a law unto itself but General de Gaulle has had a meeting with President Kennedy and it may be that the French policy will undergo some changes in the not too distant future. The three Powers deserve the thanks of all thinking men for the reasonableness they have displayed in arriving at a settlement, limited though it is. banning nuclear tests. The treaty will have to be followed by other steps. It is a matter of satisfaction that we were the first non-nuclear power to sign the treaty.

[Shri P. N. Sapru.]

Without minimising its importance, the treaty doe_s not settle the main questions which are dividing the two rival Blocs in the world. We are not a Western power but what happens in the West is certain to affect us, for the world is increasing! becoming one. It is obvious that the problems of Germany and Berlin are intricate problems. The desire of the Germans for a unified Germany is one with which it is possible to sympathise but the question is how that unity is to be brought about.

For seventeen years East Germany has been a separate State under a -system of political, social and economic organisation vastly different from that of West Germany. Obviously •imposed solutions cannot work and no solution by force can bring peace to Central and Eastern Europe. Obviously facts have to be accepted as they are and not as one would like them to be. It should not be impos-sible, given the will to achieve peace, for the NATO and the Warsaw Powers to arrive at a working arrange-ment which respects Western rights regarding Berlin. East Germany and Berlin should not, however, stand in the way of a peaceful settlement. The price of German unity must not be a war, the consequences of which no man ca^ foresee. Both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev are men of peace and it is to be earnestly hoped that the understanding that they have arrived at in Moscow will lead to a summit meeting at which all these questions can be considered in a spirit of goodwill. A good sign of the day is that the Bonn Government has signed the test ban treaty. It is possible that the question of; German unity will hereafter be viewed with greater understanding by the West German Government and the Soviet Bloc. It may be that the way out is to seek forms of recognition other than de jure recognition of East Germany.

Given the will, it should be possible to arrive at a settlement regarding underground tests. The Soviet Union

has agreed to three inspections. But the United States of America is not satisfied with three. There are also other questions like the composition of the inspection teams. The Moscow agreement has generated an atmosphere of good will which one hopes will lead to some easing of world tension.

The most important questions, so far as we are concerned, are of course, posed by China and Pakistan.

There are people in this country who question the wisdom of of non-alignment. Just we had a speech from one of them, Shri Ruthnaswamy. They question the wisdom of the policy of non-align ment. I confess I find it hard to appreciate their point of view. Nonalignment, as I understand it, means that we should judge questions which causing irritation and conflicts in the world, in a spirit of detach ment. It rules out military blocs and military bases and holds that they are contrary to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We are not tied to any bloc and we are friendly with all powers that care to be friendly with us. It rules out a policy of aggression on our part, but it does not rule out proper defence arrange ments. China (has developed a ge complex. She is responsible ideological rifts between countries the communist world. It may be we were a little too emotional in our But we have attitude towards her. organised our defences and we can give decisively good account a of ourselves if she renews the attack. arge concentrations are supposed to be taking place. But while we should be vigilant and ready to fight, if it becomes necessary to do go, it would be wise for us not to rule out the peaceful way of settlement of the dispute with China. We have stated tfhat we stand by the Colombo proposals. We have stated what is our stand and it is now for China to take the initiative regarding any talks relating to the border issues.

While there cannot be any surrender on our part, we should be always prepared for an honourable settlement. The attitude of 'no parley with Uhe enemy' appeals to the dramatic instinct, but it cannot solve any prob-There is much that we dislike in the Chinese set-up and in their way of thinking. But in international dealings one should, not go by likes and dislikes. Our policy of non-alignment—and this is its greatest justification—has more or less isolated China. Even the Soviet Union which has brotherly relations with her has been supporting us not only by empty words but by actually helping us militarily and economically. Could we have got the support of the Soviet Union and of America Britain also at the same time, if we aligned ourselves with one of the two blocs? We could have been a satellite of either of could not have served the them. but cause of world peace by our undertaking responsibilities such as we have undertaken in Korea, Viet-Nam and for a time in Congo. Nothing that we could do could have saved Tibet from her fate. By our non-alignment policy we have pointed a way to other countries which have now achieved their own independence.

international

I think we have nothing to apologise for so far as our policy towards Pakistan is concerned. We have a dispute with Pakistan regarding Kashmir. With regard to this dispute our attitude is basically right and though the Western Powers are disposed towards Pakistan, I am clear in my mind that our relations with Pakistan will not improve if we gave in, which we dare not do in the interest' of Dhe 450 million people of this subcontinent, on the question of Kashmir. Kashmir is just a symptom of a deep-seated malady. It is not we but Pakistan who has been talking in terms of war. The offer of a no-war declaration is there, but Pakistan has so far spurned it Sbe has chosen to sign a treaty with China and tlhis should not be forgotten by us. Nor can we forget her

doings in East Pakistan. We are prepared for minor adjustments. But no mediator can help to solve problems, for Pakistan hates our country and regretfully we have to accept that fact. If there is to be mediation, it must cover all the basic issues that divide us from Pakistan and not be confined to Kashmir where she was the aggressor.

Situation

Our relations with the independent kingdom of Nepal have improved, and we were happy to have Their Majesties in our country a few days back. Nepal has a mutual interest with us so far as China is concerned. I should like to express my horror at what is happening to Buddhists in Viet-Nam. It is a sign of the time that Malaysia is going to be a reality. That confederation shows that it is possible for countries holding divergent views to come together. I have often felt that confederation is the right solution for India and Pakistan, but it is just not practicable to talk in terms of a confederation, for the Pakistanis get irrigated by

A matter to which I would like to make a brief reference is the V.O.A. I am one of those who would like ous relations to improve with the United States of America, as indeed they have been improving in recent months. But I think it basically wrong, however attarctive the terms might otherwise be to allow broadcasts from our radio station of any country other than our own.

The question appears to me to be a simple one. I cannot help feeling that there has been bungling in this matter but I am happy that the agreement is being revised.

May I say a word on Africa? Many of the countries in that continent have become independent or self-governing but Portugal and South Africa pose difficult problems for the world and I think that the time has come when the United Nations should act firmly regarding these two countries. They should be made to respect the United Nations. I should also like to say a word about Southern

Situation

[Shri P. N. Sapru.] Rhodesia. Britain says that Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing country but Britain cannot change the constitution of Southern Rhodesia and Bri.ain can escape the responsibility for what she does towards Southern Rhodesia.

International

Madam Deputy Chairmain, I say that there should like to is much this country confused thinking in about non-alignment. Had we aligned ourselves with any bloc in 1946 or in 1947, we would have precipitated a world war for there was much talk of a preventive war. We would not have been able to get the support of countries other than Albania in our conflict with China. It might be that our military preparations were not up to the mark but we are a peace-loving people and speaking purely for myself, I regret that circumstances should have forced Ug to spend money on Defence which should have been available to us for providing people with that social security and those programmes of social justice without which is a meaning'ess socialism Opposition parties have no alternative policies and in the nature of tnmgs, they cannot in a poor country like India have policies for we are alternative not an affluent people. Socialism is the only way out but it is not the socialism of Dr. Lohia which we want. We want serve certain human liberties and at the same time give to the common man a fair deal.

Thank you very much, Madam Deputy Chairman.

श्रीगोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपाध्यक्षा महोदया, जो विदेश नीति के बारे में चर्चा हो रही है उसमें सब से बडी चीज सरकार की तरफ से य कही जाती है कि हम नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी चलाते आये हैं और इसी निरपेक्ष नीति के अनसार १६ साल से इस सरकार की नीति चली है। लेकिन में यह क ना चाहंगा कि हम नान-एलाइनमेंट के खिलाफ नहीं हैं। हम भी

यह बा ते हैं कि दोनों गुटों के साथ हम जुड़ें नहीं । लेकिन ग्राज जो परिस्थिति है ग्रौर जो नीति सरकार चला रही है व क्या सही ढंग से नान-एलाइमेंट की पालिसी है ? इसमें मुझे थोड़। सन्देउ होता है । इसका कारण मैं बताना चाहंगा । एक तरफ तो स्मयः कहते हैं कि हम निरपेक्ष हैं, नान-एलाइन हैं लेकिन साथ साय हर एक मसले पर हमारे जो निजय होते हैं उनका नतीजा यह होता है किया तो हम किसी एक गट के साथ जाते हैं या किसी एक गृट की जो नीति है उसका समर्थन करते हैं। तो इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि में जो नान-एलाइनमेंट का लाभ होना चायि वह हो नहीं पाता । ग्राज दो एक एक चं.ज मैं लूंगा । ग्राप देखिए चाइना क बारे में हमार्राकना नीति रति। आज चाइना हैं, एक फारमोसा है ग्रीर एक लाल चाइना है। लेकिन ्मारी नीति हरेशा यह रही है कि हम हमेशा लाल चाइना को ही चाइना मानते रहे हैं भीर फारमोसा को ठकराते रहे हैं। यह क्या निरपेक्षता की नीति है। य मैं जानना चाहंगा कि इसमें कहां निर-पेक्षता है ? अगर ध्मारी निरपेक्षता की नीति सही होती तो युनाइटेड नेशंस में जा करके हम दोनों चाइना की बात करते लेकिन यह नहीं किया गया । फिर जब किसी देश को मान्यता देने का प्रश्न ग्राता है ग्रौर व ांपर भी जब कोई सवाल उठाता है जर्मनी का या जैसे कि वाजपेयी जी ने कहा. इजराइल का तो फिर वहां पर भी ऐसा निर्णय किया जाता है कि निरपेक्षता र ती नहीं। जर्मनी का जब सवाल ग्राता है तो क्या वजह है कि दोनों जर्मनियों को म मान्यता नहीं देते हैं ग्रीर सिफं बैस्ट जर्मनी को मान्यता देते हैं। इसमें कां रही हमारी निरपेक्षता की पालिसी ? हम तो एक ऐसा निर्णय करते हैं हर मसले पर जिसका कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी से, लेकिन हमेशा यह कहते हैं कि हमारी पालिसी नान-एलाइन-मेंट की रही है। यह बिल्कुल झठ है कि हमारी पालिसी हमेशा नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी

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रही है। मैं तो चाहंगा कि हमारी सही ढंग की नानएलाइनमेंट की पालिसी हो । मैं तो यह भी चाहंगा कि हम कोई पाजिटिव पालिसी चलायें, सिक्य पालिसी चलायें । यह नहीं होना चायि कि केवल हम बात करें नान-एलाइनमेंट की भौर जब कोई भवसर भाये तो हम एक गृट का समर्थन करते रहें। वाइस भाफ ग्रमेरिका एग्रीमेंट लीजिये । क्या वजः थी कि सरकार ने ऐसा ऐग्रीमेंट किया ? क्या हमारी भूमि से दूसरों का प्रचार होगा ? फिर यह करा जाता है कि हमने इस ऐग्रीमेंट को ठीक से पढ़ा नहीं । प्रधान मन्त्री सा व खुद कबूल करते हैं कि उन्होंने इसको पढ़ा था, श्रेकिन वे क ते हैं कि मैंने ठीक से नहीं पढ़ा था। ताज्जुब की बात है कि मारे देश की विदेश नीति १६ साल से इसी तर हसे चली भारही है कि कोई चीज ठीक तर से नहीं पढ़ी जाती है। मेरा अनुभव यही राहै कि जो हमारी विदेश नीति १६ साल से रही है व ग़लत रही है क्योंकि ग्रगर व सही नीति होती श्रीर कसौटी पर रख करके उसका परिणाम निकालते तो परिणाम व नहीं होता जो भाज हमारे सामने है। भ्राज भ्रगर हम देखेंगे कि नानएलाइनमेंट की पालिसी का क्या नतीजा है तो हम यह पायेंगे कि एक बात पर भी त्मारी सफलता नहीं हुई है। लेकिन तम गुण गाते हैं नानएलाइनमेंट की पालिसी का । हमारी सारी कमजोरियों के लिये, हमारी सारी ग़लतियों के लिये य एक पर्दा बन गयी है : मारी नानएलाइनमेंट की पालिसी क्योंकि नानएलाइनमेंट चीज ऐसी है, जिसको स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के कुछ लोगों को छोड़ कर शायद ही कोई य कहेगा कि य गलत पालिसी है। इस लिये इसको एक पर्दा बना करके सारी चीजों को ढका जाता है। तो मेरा कहनाय है कि जब म इस नानएलाइ मेंट की पालिसी के बारे में सोचते हैं ग्रौर उसके नतीजा को देखते हैं तो य साफ हो जाता है कि हमारी सरकार **9६ वर्षों से जो नीति चला रही है. व**ंनान-एलाइनमेंट की नहीं रही है। उसने बार बार बात बात पर, जैसा उसकी समझ में ग्राया

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वैसी गुलती करते करते. ग्राज ऐसीपरिस्थिति में मको लाकरके र बाकि म अपर अपनी ममीबतों को विदेश नीति को ले करके देखते हैं, तो ऐसा लगता है कि चारों तरफ मुसोबर्तें ही मुसीवर्ते खड़ी की गई हैं पौर ऐसी एक चीज नहीं है, जिसमें हमारी सफलता हुई हो । चाइना का मसला लीजिये। मारी क्या सफ-लतारही ? १६ वर्षकानतोजाय हुयाकि हमारे ऊपर व : चढ़ बैठा । तिब्बत में जब चाइना ने ग्रपनी हक्षमत जमाई थी तो मारे प्रधान मन्त्री साब ने का थाकि व तो ठीक है, उसको हम मान लेते हैं। उस वक्त बहुत लोगों ने का था, डाक्टर लोया ने भी का था कि 'इट इज ए पब्जिक मर्डर।' लेकिन उनकी हंसी उड़ाई गई थी और यं कहा गम था कि ये इसी तर बकते र ते हैं। लेकिन श्राज जब चीन मारे सिर पर श्रा करके बैठता है तो कते हैं कि क्या म तिब्बत पर चढ़ाई करें। चढाई करने की बात नहीं है, लेकिन में सही दिमाग रखना चाहिये। ग्रगर मारा दिमा सही होता, तो हम उसी वक्त साझ जाते कि ग्रगर ग्राज चाइना तिब्बत पर चढाई कर रहा है तो कल मारे ऊपर भी चढ़ाई कर सकता है। फिर ब्राज जो रिपोर्ट सूत्र पढ़ी गई उसमें कते हैं कि मारा स्लेंट किया गया था। चाइना मारे ऊपर चढाई करेतो स्लैंट उसी वक्त हो जाना चायि था जिस दिन चाइना ने तिब्बत पर मला किया था कि कल हमारे ऊपर बा करके मसीबत पड़ेगी, लेकिन यह नहीं हुन्ना। युड़ कहा जाता है कि म पीस लविंग नेशन हैं। पीस सभी चा ते हैं, लेकिन अपनी ताकत बढ़ा कर पीस रखी जाती है। श्राज जब ृमारे **ऊ**पर मुसीबत है तो फिर पीस ग्रीर शांति की बात करना धलत है। ग्राज मारे देश के कुछ हिस्से चाइना के कब्जे में हैं ग्रौर ग्रपने देश के किसी ग्रंग को किसी दूसरे के कब्जे में रख छोड़ना य मेरी समझ में नहीं ग्राता । जब ज्वाइंट एक्सरसाइजेज की बात ब्राई तो पता नहीं किस ढंग से उसके बारे में मारी सरकार से वार्ता हुई कि उसमें छः महीने लग गये । हम

International

चाहते हैं कि जिस समय हमारे देश पर कोई मसीवत ग्राये, जिस समय हमारे देश पर कोई श्राक्रमण हो. तो उस वक्त एक ही नीति हो सकती है कि जहां से भी हमें मदद मिले, उस मदद को ले करके हम अपने देश की भूमि की रक्षा करें। उसके बाद ग्रगर : मारी भूमि बच जायेगी, तो फिर हम श्रपनी नीति बनाते रहेंगे । उसमें कहां से निरपेक्षता की या नान-एलाइनमेंट की कमी हो जाती है, जब हम किसी से मदद लेते हैं ? तो हमको यः सब समझ में नहीं भा रहा है कि प्रधान मन्त्री हमारे सामने आकर क ते हैं कि निरपक्षता की नीति, नानएलाइनमेंट की नीति चलाई है इसलिये हम यह नहीं कर पाये या वह नहीं कर पाये। असली चीज तो यह है कि अपने देश को बचाग्रो चाहे जैसे हो। ग्रगर ताकत नहीं है तो ताकत को बढ़ाग्रो, ग्रगर कोई हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण करता है, तो मुकाबिला करो और जो भी मदद दे उससे मदद लो, उसमें कोई कभी नहीं होनी चािये।

फिर भ्राज यह कहा जाता है कि न्यु-क्लियर टेस्ट बैन बहुत बड़ी घटना हो गई है। में मानता हूं कि न्यू क्लियर टेस्ट बैन एक एक बहुत बड़ी घटना हुई है, लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने क्या किया। हमारी सरकार ने कोई एक ऐसा पाजिटिव या सिकय कदम दूनिया में उठाया है जिससे कि दुनिया में कोई एक मसला हल हुआ हो ? १६ साल में कोई एक ऐसी मिसाल नहीं है। इनकी पालिसी यह है कि मैं भी हं, जब कोई चीज हो जाती है, तब कहते हैं कि मैं भी हं ग्रौर उसमें "मीट्" की पालिसी चलाते हैं, टैस्ट बैन हो गया, सिगनेचर हो गया. तो मैं भी हूं। लेकिन क्या कभी इस बात को उठाया गया है कि दुनिया में जो गरीबी है, जो असमानता है देश श्रीर देश में, उसके मिटाने के लिये कोई एक समिट कान्फ्रेंस बलाई जाय ? इसके बारे में कोई योजना हमारी सरकार ने दी है ? अभी तक कोई नहीं दी है।

जब हम यें बात करते हैं कि हम अफ्रीका श्रीर दूसरे देशों से मैती बढ़ाना चाहते हैं ती मैं यह जानना चाहंगा कि क्या इन १६ सालों में हमारी यः नीति रही है, क्या अफ्रीका के जो देश स्वतन्त्रता के लिये लडते आये हैं. उनके लिये काफी मदद दी है ? कभी छटपूट इधर उधर कुछ कर दिया या ५०, ६० स्कालरशिप्स दे दी गईं, तो इससे कोई बड़ी वात नहीं बनती । जब चाइना डिप्लोमैटिक वार चलाता है भीर साथ ही साथ कोलेनिय-लिज्म के खिलाफ सारे अफ़ीका में ग्रपनी मदद पहुंचाता है, तो क्या वज_{ें} है कि िन्दुस्तान की सरकार चुप बैठती है ? ग्रगर ग्रफीका को ग्रपने साथ लेना था तो क्या वज हथी कि ग्रल्जीरिया को जब ३४ देशों ने मान्यता दे दी थी भ्रौर जब तक फांस ने मान्यता नहीं दी तब तक हम चुप रहे। मेरी समझ में नहीं ग्राता है कि इसमें क्या निरपेक्षता की ग्रव-हेलना होती है । तो इस तर३ की गल्तियां करके समने अफ़ीका के देशों की मैत्री खोई ग्रीर साथ साथ ग्रीर देशों की मैत्री भी खोई। ग्रगर नानएलाइनमेंट सही होता, सिकय होता तो एक तृतीय शक्ति खड़ी हो जाती श्रीर उसमें िन्द्स्तान का भी हाथ रहता । वह शक्ति इगर एकत्रित हुई होती तो मजाल नहीं थी कि चाइता या कोई तम हम पर हमला करता । लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया श्रीर जो देश हमारे साथ थोड़ा बहुत मैत्री करते थे. जैसे कि इंडोनीशिया है--जिसके स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम में हमने काफी मदद की, वही एक देश है, जिसके लिये हमने सिक्य कदम उठाया--वह देश भी हमसे नाराज है। क्यों ऐसा हुआ, यह मैं जानना चाहता है। जो विदेश नीति में खुबियां हैं, जिससे हमने इतनी सफलता पाई है, ये सब हमें दीख रही हैं।

Situation

श्रव, पाकिस्तान का मसला लीजिये। पाकिस्तान के बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि वह हमसे नाराज है, वह दूश्मन है। श्रभी किसी एक सदस्य ने यह फर्माया कि उनके साथ हमारी नफरत हो गई है धौर उनको हमारे साथ नफरत हो गई है। तो ऐसा क्यों हुग्रा, इसकी ग्रसल में, इसकी जड़ में हमें जाना चािये। १६ साल तक पाकिस्तान के साथ जो भी मसले रहे, उनको उलझाया गया, उनको वैसा ही रखा गया ग्रीर कोई मसलाहल करने की कोशिश सही ढंग से हुई हो, यह हुमें नहीं दीखता है। काश्मीर का मसला अगर हल नहीं होता है तो उनको कहना चाहिये था कि ठीक है, काश्मीर जैसा का तैसा रहे, हम एक महासंघ बनायें, उसमें तुम भी आयो और हम भी रहेंगे, काश्मीर को भी रहने दें, बंगाल को धलग कर के बंगाल को भी रहने दें, एक ऐसा मसला उनके सामने रखते तो शायद मानते; लेकिन इस किस्म की कोई बड़ी कोशिश हुई हो, ऐसा मैं नहीं समझता। कभी बाउंडरी कम शन बैठाया गया ग्रीर कभी कुछ किया ; मगर कोई चीज ल नहीं होती है। ये बड़े बड़े मसले तभी हल होते हैं जब कि उनका हल ग्रन्छ ढंग से निक लें। मेरी समझ में नहीं भ्राता कि हमारी कुटनीति का यह परिणाम हमा कि म्राज सारी तरफ दुश्मन ही दुश्मन दिखाई पड़ते हैं। क्या चीज है कि चाइना भी दृश्मन, पाकिस्तान भी दृश्मन, चारों तरफ दूश्मन ही दुश्मन फैल गये हैं, नागालैंड- अपने देश में भी दृश्मन हो ग्रौर यह क**ा जाय कि** हमारी विदेश नीति बड़ी सफल रही है, तो यः बिल्कुल गलत बात है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि: आज चीन के साथ डिप्लोमेंटिक रिलेशंश श्रभी तक जारी हैं। समझ में नहीं आता है कि एक तरफ तो वह आक्रमण करें श्रीर हमारे देश के हजारों वर्ग मील के हिस्से को हड़प कर के अपने कब्जे में रखें श्रीर दूसरी तरफ फिर भी हमारा दूतावास रहे, उनका दूतावास रहे श्रीर हमारे दूत उनकी चाय पार्टियों में भी जायें, बड़े शर्म की बात है या।

वक्त नहीं है इसलिये जो विदेश में िन्दुस्ता-नी रहते हैं सिर्फ उनके बारे में कहना चा-

हंगा । सीलोन के, बर्मा के, अफ्रीका के और देशों के जो हिन्दुस्तांनी हैं, उनका मसला विल्कुल वैसा का वैसा रागया है बल्कि और विगड़ता जा रहा है। ग्राज सीलोन की जो बार्ता आई है उससे तो लगता है कि सीलोन का मामला भी बिगड़ गया है। मैं चाहंगा कि जो फीजी श्रीर मारिशश जैसे देश हैं जहां पर िन्द्स्तानियों की बहुत बड़ी जनसंख्या है. उनकी स्थिति के बारे में भी हमारी सरकार एक सिकय कदम उठाये। कोई भी भारत की सही सरकार सिकय कदम इसके लिये उठायेगी श्रीर चुप नहीं र सकती है, लेकिन ग्राज ृम देखते हैं कि सारी त्रटियां, गल्तियां करते जान्नो और इंकेकी चोट पर यां श्राकर कहो कि स्म तो निरपेक्ष नीति चला रहे हैं, नानएलाइनमेंट हो रहा है और आज नानएलाइनमेंट पर बहुत बड़ा खतरा ग्रा पड़ा है। इस तरह कोई चीज ःल नहीं हो सकती है। सही ढंग से र चीज को देख कर के जब तक हम सही ढंग का एक नान-एलाइनमेंट की पालिसी नहीं चलाते. तब तक कोई चीज हल नहीं होने को है।

SHRI N. C. KASLIWAL (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, Ruthnaswamy, who spoke a little earlier has made a shocking and-permit me to say, Madam Deputy Chairman—a most shameful statement in this House today. He says we should ask for help in military forces also; in other words he has suggested that foreign troops should be stationed on the soil of India. He does not know that no respectable citizen of this country will ever tolerate the stationing of foreign troops in this country. Not only this country; no respectable country will ever tolerate the stationing of foreign troops on its soiL But he is an hon. Member who has said that foreign troops must be ask-

I ed for and stationed on our sacred soil. It seems to me he has lack of confidence in our soldiers; it is ^a shame. I say our soldiers are among

I the best soldiers and the best fLghit-

[Shri N. C. Kasiiwal.J ers in the world. Give them the tools and *they* will finish the job.

Having said tihis, there is another point to which I want to refer and that i_s what Mr. Govinda_n Nair has said about air exercises. He has said that because of these joint air exercises our basic policy is going to be compromised but I believe he has not read the statement which was laid on the Table of this House by the Prime Minister. Paragraph 10 clear i_s y says:

"Another criticism' is that by allowing foreign aircraft to come here even temporarily and take part in these joint training exercises under the aegis of the Indian Air Force, even if these are exercises for purposes of training, we are in some way departing from our basic policy and allowing bases in India to foreign aircraft. I find it difficult to appreciate this criticism. We want our Air Force technicians to be trained fully to man this highly sophisticated equipment including effective handling of the equipment under operational conditions and servicing of all varieties of aircraft including high performance aircraft."

This is what the Prime Minister has said. In paragraph 7 it has been said:

"Our pilots and air crew will also gain valuable experience regarding the latest techniques of air defence from these Joint Training Exercises. At all times, during the air exercises and otherwise, tresponsibility for the air defence of India will continue to vest in the Indian Air Force."

And further in paragraph 3 he has said that action has been taken to make up the deficiency in Indian Air Force transport capacity by acquisition of additional transport planes—

AN-12s from the USSR, Caribous from Canada, High altitude helicopters from France and the USSR and Fairchild Packets from the USA.

I do not know how our basic policy, because of the joint air exercises, is compromised. I maintain that there can be no such tihing as compromising our basic non-alignment policy so far as the joint air exercises are concerned.

Now, several Members of this House have welcomed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and I also add my voice in welcoming this very important Treaty. The House will recall that it is the Prime Minister who took the initiative right from 1954 in this matter. The matter was being continuously pursued in the United Nations and today we are all glad that we find the fruition of that policy. For this Treaty I would like to convey my congratulations to President Kennedy and Premier Khruschev for being realists enough to be the first signatories of this Treaty. There are two or three countries-I call them misguided countrieswhich have not yet cared to sign this Treaty. France is one of them. An hon. Member from that side has also moved an amendment to that effect, that France is not a signatory to this Treaty. Nor is China. Yes, we know what China is doing and the Prime Minister has given an effective reply to the circular letter which China had sent in this respect saving that the first thing to do is this. If you are a peaceful country, it is much better for you to sign the Test Ban Treaty and "then ask for general and complete disarmament.

Now, /having said this. I pass on to another important point. The Oovemmenit (have all along beeta very vigilant for the continued establishment of peace and in their desire for peace, co-operation and international understanding, they are all the time taking various steps either

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"Some years ago, it was resolved to have a_n international geophysical year. Perhaps this Assembly might resolve to call upon fill countries of the world to devote a year to the furtherance of cooperative activities in any field-political, cultural and whatever field there may be, and there are thousands of fields. That perhaps would direct some of our energy and some of our thinking to this idea of coopefration which would •create an. atmosphere for solving the problems more easily".

In 1962 an item was inscribed on the agenda of the United Nations "United Nation_s year for international cooperation". I am glad to say that the General Assembly considered this item that year and they agreed to promote the plant for a year of international cooperation. They suggested that it might be in 1965, the 20th anniversary of the United Nations. Madam, it is only in the fitness of things that the year of international cooperation should be celebrated, together with the anniversary of the Unitea Nations.

Now, having said that, I would like to say that although in 1965 there would be a celebration of the year of international cooperation, can we really celebrate it so long as colonialism remains in this world? I particularly refer to the position in Angola and Mozambique. Resolution No. 1514 was adopted in the United Nations by which colonialism should be wiped out. Portugal !? a country Which opposed that ftes'lution and the reasons are obvious. Portugal is Bti'l engaged in committing attrocities on the inhabitant[^] ot Angola and Mozambique. In Angola and Mozambique the fight for liberation and ior freedom is being can led on by the people, by men women,

and I would like to send a wed of cheer to hearten them in their struggle for freedom against colonialism which is being perpetuateby tha Portuguese in those territories.

Situation

Madam, I also want to refer to another small point and that is th* question of South West Africa. The yoke of South Africa over South West Africa is not vet over. In </pite of so many things which ve have done in the United Nations, in spite of the fact that South Afnca has continuously been criticised for its hold over South West Africa, South West Africa is not yet free. I wouH again like to say that the people of South West Africa must crntinue to keep on fighting for their liberty and freedom against the South African Government. The people of this country stand solidly with Uie porpl« of Africa. I would like to appem' to the Prime Minister and to he Government that they should give all reasonable help and assistance to the newly emerging countiles of Africa in their quest for social and economic development.

I would not go into other points. I would only raise the question of Indo-Pakistan relations, btcausp 1 feel that this particular point has rot been properly dealt with in this debate. fThe Prime Minister had made a statement in this House on the 13th August. 1963 in vnich he was good enough lo say that the concessions which we had offered to Pakistan were no longer open rnd they must be treated as withdrawn. I congratulate the Prime Minister on having made that statement. I would analyse the statement which he has placed on the Table of the House. Now, what was the attitude of Pakistan when we went to talk with her on our differences¹ On the eve of the first round of talks in Rawalpindi, Pakistan announced its so-called agreement, in principle, with China on Kashmir's border with Sinkiung. That was the first blow that Pakistan wanted to give to these talks. Th« second blow Pakistan wanted to give

[Shri N. C. Kasliwal.] was at the time of the second round of talks. At that time, 2,000 sq. miles of our territory were handed over to China. When the third round of talks was going to take place, Pakistan launched an unprecedented campaign of vilification agains1 India not rnly in Pakistan but also in the capitals of Europe through their responsible officers. After that, when the forth round of talks wag going to take place, Pakistan claimed tho catchment areas and the watersheds of the three western rivers—the Chenab, the Jhelum and the Indus—in Jammu ana Kashmir on the ground that these rivers had been allotted to Pakistan under the Indus Waters Treaty. When the fifth round of talks was going to take place, Pakistan claimed the entire Jammu and Kashmir State. And finally, after these talks were over, now Pakistan has entered into an air agreement with China. That has been the attitude of Pakistan.

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I will finish by raiding a small extract from a magazine which has very carefully and clearly found out tihe three faces of Pakistan:-

"Here we see ihe three faces of Pakistan—three faces of duplicity. One face, smouldering with hatred an-i reddened with bellicosity, stares relentlessly at India. The second face, exploding with threats and recriminations is turned towards Britain and the United States, exerting pressures on them to prevent arms aid to India. The third face is that of an opportunist looking at China, apparently non-

ohaliant, but acting as to further the nefarious designs of China to subvert "".emocracy and stability in South East Asia."

Madam, with these remarks I support the amendment of my hon. friend, Ramakrishna Rao.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are still a number of hon. Members who want to participate in the debate.

Therefore, the House will sit till 6

SHRI G. S. PATHAK (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, at this hour I shall be very brief. This test ban treaty has been an event of the greatest importance during the last fifteen years. It has very wide and farreaching consequences. It has eased tensions between the West and the East. It has smoothened the way for further progress towards disarmament. It has removed the hazard to the health of the humanity and of the future generations. It has established that the principle of co-existence is the only principle which can be pursued in this nuclear age, that it is the only principle which can enable the humanity to suvive. It has also established impliedly that the policy which China is pursuing, the policy of inevitability of war, is condemned by not only the big powers but also by the non-aligned powers in the worM. It has also proved the effect of world public opinion in the development of which our Government took a very conspicious part. The result is tint at the present moment there is a distinct improvement in the world situation and there are promise and hope for the future of the international community.

This treaty was the outcome of the awareness of the nuclear age. It was realised that the anti-missile missiles' programme would involve an expenditure of billions. It was also realised that for the improvement of the living conditions of the people it was necessary that the missile programmes bo not continued, and these aspec's have also set big nations a thinking, and they may drop the visit to the moon. This, therefore, is the effect of this test ban treaty, and we hope that it will lead to further results and there will be further progress towards disarmament.

It is true that the scene of cold war has shifted from the West to the East. Tensions have decreased in the

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West, tension has increased in the East. Cnina is attacking now not only the United Spates, not only India but alao Soviet Russia and many Communist countries. is certainly isolated. As a result of what is going on in the international community, what is happening in the world today, China is certainly isolated, and the question then is, what are we to do about the threat posed by China towards our security, the threat that China is posing towards the peace in the There is some criticism in some quarters about our receiving military aid and our arrangements for air exercises. It must be remembered that to receive military aid or to prepare ourselves to meet the Chinese menace is not inconsistent with our policy of non-alignment. It is not correct to say that we have modified our policy. If we consider the history of international law, we would reach the conclusion that it is not only the right but the obligation of nations to come to the aid of the victim of aggression made by another country. Therefore, when we are receiving aid, economic aid and military aid, and other countries are giving us aid, there is no inconsistency between our receipt of such aid for our preparation to meet the dangers for our self-preservation and security and our policy of non-alignment. Our policy of non-alignment, as has been pointed out by the Government on numerous occasions, mere\ means this that we are not aHgned to any military b'oc. We must, and are entitled to, judge every international problem on i+s merits. When our policy been examined wi*h reference to the Charter of the United Nations, it has a^ays been said, it has been s^id at least on some occasions by jurists and statesmen that India can always say: "When we signed the Charter, we never contemplated that world would be divided into two miliary blocs". That indeed was not contemplated by the Charter. The Charter contemplates sovereign equali+y. The Charter at diplomatic contemplates discussion level. The Charter con-

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templates independent views. If the world were to be divided into two mUitary blocs, that would be completely outside what was contemplated by the Charter.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Does not the Charter provide for regional compacts or agreements?

SHRI G. S. PATHAK: Regional agreements mean very different from what the military blocs mean, but I will deal with that later if necessary. The question then is, when we have pursued this policy of non-alignment, we are convinced that this is the only policy which we, situated as we are, could pursue. This is the only policy which is correct. This policy has gained adherence. The vali-5 P.M. dity of this policy, the efficacy of this policy, has received and is growingly receiving recognition and acceptance in the world. Therefore, it is not correct to say, in my submission, that there has been any change in our policy. International co-operation we have to believe in, and so far as the Colombo Plan is concerned, with our limited resources, we have given a large amount of technical assistance. We are giving such assistance as we are capable of not only to our neighbours, not only to the countries in Asia but also to countries in Africa. It is a positive, active, dynamic policy, and this policy we must pursue.

Now, my friend, Shri Kasliwal, made some observations about our relations with Pakistan. It is true that Pakistan has not given any evidence of a genuine intention to arrive at any settlement. When the talks were going on, Pakistan presented to us the treaty with China and that treaty would result in depriving us of our sovereignly over a part of the Jammu and Kashmir State. This wag followed by air and trade agreements and the fantastic claims that Pakistan made during the talks are proof positive of the fact that Pakistan is not serious about, or has no bona fide

[Shri G. S. Pathak.]

intention of, arriving at any settlement on any matter. It is offering a continuous threat of war to us. There is independent evidence afforded by people like Mr. John Strachey who had visited our country and Pakistan and who said on his return to England that Pakistan's public men, Pakistan's men in authority, were saving that if China attacked India, then Pakistan would also attack India. Now, this is not the method of arriving at any settlement on any question between two countries.

So far as the Kashmir problem is concerned, it appears that there is greater and greater understanding of this problem and of our case. People have smarted thinking on these lines. The Charter requires the international community to improve the lot of the people, to work for the advancement of the people of the world, political advancement, economic progress and social progress. Now, in Kashmir there is a popu'ar Government; there are courts right under the protection of the High Court and the Supreme Court; there is economic progress; there is social progress. Will the international community to'erate that while in the rest of the world it will work for the advancement of the people, here in helping Pakistan, all that has been done for the people of Kashmir by the people of Kashmir and the peop'e of the other States of India should be destroyed? Now, people have started thinking on those lines. Wi'l it be possible to reduce the conditions of the peop'e living there to the conditions prevailing, say, in Azad Kashmir?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ (Jammu and Kashmir): So-called.

SHUT G. S. PATHAK: So-called Azad Kashmir. Thank you.

People have smarted th'nking on those lines. And Pakistan is ob'ivious of the fact that a realistic attitude has to be taken if there is to be friendship

between Pakistan and India. We of course want friendship with every nation. That is essential for, and consistent with, the poucy of non-alignment. But if Pakistan persists in this attitude, Pakistan will be a-threat to our security. Then Pakistan itself is to blame for it.

Situation

Thank you.

SHRI K. V. RAGHUNATHA REDDY (Andhra Pradeshj: Madam Deputy Cnairman, tne iwo expressions, 'alignment' and 'nonalignment' snould not be understood as two dichotomous expressions where oue does not meet the other. Non-alignment should not also be understood to mean isolationism. But, on the contrary, the expression 'non-alignment' has got a positive content of foreign policy which in itself comprehends respect for other nations, respect for the sovereignty of other countries and a so respect for our own integrity and selfrespect. It also means that we will not participate in the co'd war between the two blocs, and it a'so. means that we will not align ourselves with any military bloc but that we are free to judge the merits of each issue on relevant considerations and decide our own po'icy and our views as to how to adopt it in relation to a given situation. That, I submit, is a correct understanding of non-aUgnment. With your permission. Madam, I may quote from our iMus-trious Prime Minister's book "The Discovery of India" in which in one of the passages he has laid the foundation for this doctrine of non-aMgn-ment, self-respect for our own nation and intesrity and also respect for other countries. On page 5B1 the learned Prime Minister has stated—

"We are cit'zens of no mean country and we are proud of the land of our bir'h, of our people, our culture and traditions. That pride should not be for a romanticized past to which we want to-cMng: nor should it encourage ex-clusivenesa or a want of apprecia-

lion of ways oilier than ours. It must never allow us to forget our many weaknesses and failings or biunt our longing to be rid of them. We have a long way to go and much leeway to make up before we can take our proper station with oihers in the van of human civilization and progress. And we have to hurry, for the time at our disposal is limited and the pace of the world grows ever swifter. It was India's way in the past to welcome and absorb other cultures. That is much more necessary today, for we march to the one world of tomorrow where national cultures will be intermingled with the international culture of the human race. We shall therefore seek wisdom and knowledge and friendship and comradeship wherever we can find them, and co-operate with others in common tasks, but we are no supplants for others' favours and patronage. Thus we shall remain true Indians and Asiatics, and become at the same time good

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Thus, by following the policy of nonalignment we are not going to be the supplicants of any other country, and by following the policy of non-alignment we have proved in practice that we have stood on our own ground, which has been appreciated by several other countries also. Thus, the test of non-aMgnment-or rather how to test this policy of non-alignment—is to see whether we have won more friends in the international field or whether we have lost friends. Now in the present situation the policy of nonalignment seems to have infected even America. Russia an-? the United Kingdom. The Test Ban Treaty is the result of the po'icy of non-a'ignment and peace which we have preached, and it seems-it is exaggeration—as if even America seems to be ge'ting non-aliffned as if Russia se^ms to be gett'ng non-aMgn-ed. as if England is getting non-aligned. Tf al¹ thes° countries are getting non-aligned, and if we have to follow

internationalists and world citizens."

the advice of some of the hon. friends here, with whom are we to a.ign ourselves? If the Western countries are getting non-aligned, with wiiom are we going to align ourselves? That is, Madam, the question which each hon. Member should ask for himself.

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Madam, when we preach non-alignment or preach peace and freedom, it is very easy for every country to say, "We believe in peace and freedom". But it is another thing to respect it, to practise it, to see that the policy which they follow is really demonstrated in practice. If that is the case, the political policy of a country or the political thinking of the country will have to reflect itself in the diplomatic arrangements we make and political alignments, political friendships we make. If we just look from that angle, certainly, non-alignment means we are friendly to everybody; we are not inimical to anybody. But that does not mean that we are going to give up the integrity of the nation, the sense of self-respect or our respect for the sovereignty of other nations. This policy has paid dividends and has proved a very efficient one in practice.

As far as my amendment is concerned, this is a short amendment. By this amendment I only wanted to bring to the notice of the hon. Prime Minister the fate of the people in South Viet-Nam, the fate of the small religious sect. the Buddhists, whose fate reminds us of the fate of the Jews under the Nazi regime in Germany in the thirties. And I only wanted to appeal to the Prime Minister to make use of his good offices to bring some relief to these peop'e. I am quite aware, Madam, situated as we are, we may not be able to actively help anybody in South Viet-Nam, but still the moral prestige that our country enjoys and the moral prestige that the Prime M'nister enioys in the world, would certain'y he'p to bring relief to those people who are suffering at the hands of those who are almost acting as if they are imitating the Nazis of Germany.

[Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy.] Madam, before 1 close my speech, I would only like to add that while we are interested in the German unity, it is a fact that East Germany has come to slay. We are also having a number of trade relationships with East Germany and I do not see any reason why we should not extend the policy of non-alignment even to East Germany for we have already got various relationships with this country.

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The next important thing, Madam, is the Middle East which is another inferno. I know, that Israel is one of the important countries in that area for which there may be very valid reasons for asking: "Why should we immediately recognise the Israel Government and have diplomatic relations with her?" But still there are certain aspects of economic activity in Israel, especially the co-operative movement in Israel, which every Indian ought to study, and I hope the hon. Prime Minister would give due consideration and see whether some Indians could be sent now and then and some relationship could be developed with that country for the study of this aspect of cooperative movement in Israel, whether we like other aspects of Israel or not. With these words, I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are still five more Members to speak. I do hope that everybody would observe a self-imposed time-limit of ten minutes.

DR. GOPAL SINGH (Nominated): Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to suopor* the amendment moved by Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao. Within the limited time given to me it will hardi, be possible to touch upon the observations made by some of the revered leaders of the Opposition. I will first begin with Shri Vajpayee.

Now, it is most auspicious that most of the leaders of the Opposition have paid lip service to the policy of nonalignment but have impressed upon the Government that it has been defeated in practice. Mr. Vajpayee has suggested that if we were really non-a.igned v/e should have recognised the political entity of Israel. He has charged the Government with being blackmailed by one group of nations or being influenced by the sentiments of the Muslim community in this country. I do not see any reason why the Government of this country should not be susceptible to the sentiments of the Muslim community or to the Arab nations who feel very strongly on the point of the recognition of Israel. If, for instance, our country recognises Israel and gets into trouble with the Arab nations or the Muslims in this country, I think the bargain would not be worth making.

RUTHNASWAMY: Shri M. Our Government has recognised Isra»1.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: In what way?

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: It has no diplomatic relationship but it has recognised Israel.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: That is what I am saying. The Government has recognised but not opened any diplomatic chancery in Israel. But it has not opened any chancery in East Germany either even though the pressure from the Soviet b'oc was most insistent. Now, Mr. Vajpayee also pointed out that if the Soviet Union is not able to he'p us at this time of trial and tribulation on account of the Chinese aggression against our territory, we should ioin the Western bloc the whole hog. He sail the integrity and the honour of our nation is more sacred than any po^cy which should not be considered sacrosanct. I quite agree w'th him that the policies should not be deemed sacred. They are only a means to an end. But if it is his contention that by joining one bloc or the other, we shall be paving the wav for the integrity of our nation, I think he is living in a paradise of his own.

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We ail know mat the help that the Britisa ana t"t uuitea States uoveiu-luuiu tenuereu us at me tune oi the Ciime^e attaot in Ltio'l s^ou us in gooa steam ana we nave aiways been tnaaKiui ior mat neip. But if it is the contention 01 tins worthy leauer 01 the opposition mat by walking into the bioc of the Western nations we wnl be neiping our country any more, men i think ne wiL be sadly disillusioned. Now, we all know that in spi.e of the he.p tnat was rendered to us by Britain at the time of Emergency, Britain has now started trading with China not only now but for quite some time past. In spite of the Chinese attack on us, Britain has never concealed its intentions of not only going ahead with its programme of supplying most vital and strategic material to China, but it is going to hold a trade exhibition next year in the Chinese mainland. The main purpose of keeping the status quo in Hong Kong both by China and Britain is some kind lit a secret arrangement, I should believe, between the two countries of supplying what the Now, we a!l know that in other needs. spite of the Baghdad Pact, Baghdad cou'd not be saved. In spite of South Korea being aligned, South Korea could not be saved. In spite of South Viet-Nam being aligned, South Viet-Nam has not been free from trouble. In spite of Pakistan being aligned, Pakis'an has now started rethinking about its basic policy of alignment with the West. Therefore, we must not jump to the conclusion that the moment we enter into some kind of arrangement with the Eastern or any other nations, our security will be guaranteed because any nation, whether Western or Eastern, would like to help us only to the extent to which its broad national interests wouM dictate and not what our national interests would demand. For instance, when the United States people and the British people very generously came to our rescue and helped us at the time of the last Chinese attack, they also pressurised us into negotiating some kind of a settlement with

Pakistan over Kashmir there and men. xt was real pressurising because i thinjt ma,, at a time wnen vou are involved with anomer aggressor no menu wiu ask you to negotiate in a matter as delicate as Kasnmir. But iney did it and they did it ae.iberate-iy. They are doing even now. Thereiore, we should not conciuue if the British and the States people nelped us at the time of the emergency, then they are going also to go the who'e hog with us and that there will be absolutely no trouble to our country as as we have joined hands with the Western bloc. Now about the Soviet Union, Mr. Vajpayee suggested that the Soviet Union, being a Communist country, would ultimately side with the Chinese and not with us. They both wanted to export Communism to the whole world, we are told. I think so far as the Soviet Union is concerned, in spite of the generous and big help that it has rendered to us, all that help has been routed through the Government agencies, and its help has never been with strings attached. Leaving aside the U.S.A., the second largest donor country has been the Soviet Union, it was the Soviet Union which was the first to build a basic industry, that is a steel plant in this country, on terms most favourable to this When no other country was coming country. forward to build any basic industry in this country, it -was the Soviet Union that came Therefore we should not say to our rescue. that of Russia. We cannot say that, so far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has not been wanting to export Communism to any country so far. It may be that certain countries might have opted for Communism but Communism or any other 'ism' cannot be exported until the peop^ are prepared for it and if our people are prepared for any 'ism', it is open to them to have it or not have it. But to suggest that because of the mere fact that we are taking help from Russia, the mere fact that China is a Communist country and the Soviet Union is also Communist and that therefore the Soviet

[Dr. Gopal Singh.]

Union is wanting to export Communism to us through a secret arrangement with China is to misread the situation as it is developing nowadays. The Prime Minister in his statement this morning also made a reference to what is happening these days on the world scene in regard to the Sino-Soviet dispute. One of the Western observers like Mr. Harriman was pleased to observe only some time back that the policy of non-alignment that India is pursuing is in the best interests of the U.S.A. He said in a radio television interview in Washington on December 9, 1962:

"It is in the interest of the United States that India should maintain the friendliest possible relations with Russia."

He pictured the Soviet assistance to India as an important element in the split between Russia and Chin*.

America[^] Ex-ambassador, Galbraith, said similarly in a Press Conference in New Delhi on November 6, 1962:

"We have often said that we accept India's policy of non-alignment. Our aid is designed to defend India's independence and not to compromise it."

—as some of the Leaders of the Opposition would like us to do. We on this side want to have an independent foreign policy, because any other policy would affect our defence, our economy, even internal stability. The essence, the crux of the foreign policy that is being pursued by the Government of India is that it is an independent foreign policy, that we will judge every issue, as Mr. G. S. Pathak

pointed out, on its merits, that we are not going to prejudge any issue, that we are not going to be committed beforehand. That is to say, as the issues arise whether in one camp or the other, it should be possible for us as an independent nation, to judge every issue on its merits. And, if I may say so, it is this policy which has made it possible for us to make the economic progress we have made, to isolate China, to build an Afro-Asian bloc at the U.N. and exercise moral authority in the Councils of the World.

The "Washington Post" wrote editorially in December 1962:

"Mr. Harriman has performed a service by stating two very persuasive reasons why Soviet-Indiaa friendship is in American interest He noted that Russia's substantial economic aid advances Indian development. This goal, desirable in itself, is doubly valuable as the guide to free world's path to economic and social progress. Mr. Harriman also pointed out that Soviet amity and aid to India tend to strain Sino-Soviet relations and that the aid cut-off would tend to throw Moscow towards Peking. These hardheaded remarks should answer critics who find fault with Prime Minister Nehru for not throwing his full weight into the balance of the West."

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I hope Prof. Ruthnaswamy will reconsider.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: The former West German Ambassador to India, Dr. Meyer, writing in a German daily, NEUE Rheinzeitung, said:

"India's membership of Cento and Seato might well bring about daneer of world war. Indeed, it can be stated with great certainty that India's keeping away from bloc policy is identical with the tendency towards desirable localisation of military operations. Is the assumption almost not naive that China would have refrained from her measures had India been a member of either of the Blocs?"

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That is what the West German Ambassador said in a newspaper article.

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha also made a few observations to which I would like to reply.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken 10 minutes.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: May I request you to extend his time? He is making very relevant observations.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: It is a reflection. It means that others' remarks were irrelevant.

SHRI GOVINDAN NAIR: We support the recommendation.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: Shri Sinha made the remark: "Why did we not understand the Chinese intentions earlier?" It is all very well to be wise after the event. Only a few years ago, in 1959, Acharya Kripalani, who now-adays is very fond of accusing the Government of having let down the country at the time of the Chinese invasion because the Government had kept the country unprepared, in a speech in the Parliament had objected very seriously to any rise in the defence expenditure. Similarly Mr. Rajagopalachari, the head of the Swatantra Party and of Mr. Ruth-naswamy, has been going about . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY; Not my head.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You say, it might be his head.

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DR. GOPAL SINGH: Yes, the head and heart of Mr. Ruthnaswamy. He also has been preaching from the house-tops that India should unilaterally disarm herself. Now with all this being said only a few before the Chinese invasion, now for the Leaders 'of the Opposition to come up and suggest that we did not understand the Chinese intentions earlier because earlier there was some kind of a hazy idea about the real intentions of Chinese Communism or perhaps we were in league with them—I repudiate both these insinuations. Because right from 1959, when trouble with China took a more serious turn, up to date, the turn'over in the Defence Factories had increased from Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 60 crores per year. That is, we had started learning about the real intentions of the Chinese but we knew that being a nation jvhich was impoverished for 200 years by colonial exploitation, we could not do a thing about it except to prepare. Even now people say: Why do you accept the Colombo proposals when the Chinese have rejected them? It is because if these proposals do not bring about peace and disengagement, then, we need time to prepare. We do need some breathing time to prepare ourselves. It is very well, it is very chivalrous to shout: 'Why do you not attack Tibet, why do you not take over Peking?' but it is very hard to do it.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Whoever

DR. GOPAL SINGH: Quite a tew of you.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: You dare not ...

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: About the land that is under their occupation.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: That is a legitimate demand and nobody has asked for taking over Peking

DR. GOPAL SINGH; Taking over Tibet has been your policy for quite some time.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Peking is not in Tibet

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: He does not know geography.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: I know geo-. grapny as much as Mr. Vajpayee does Dut i Would only suggest that knowing geography, you cannot invade another territory. Shri Sinha sain that China has not been isolated. Who says China has not been isolated?

I say that if the withdrawal of tne Soviet help in respect of China is not an isolation of China, then I do noi know what isolation means. Wherever you go to an African or Asian country, the one charge that is levelled against us is: 'Have you become aligned to one bloc or another?' So

II we remain non-aligned they ar» witn us. It is on account of the Clunest propaganda that India has been aligned with some Power Bloc that tneit has been some kind of misunderstana-ing in the African and Asian countries, if we remain non-aMgned, if we remain an independent country, if we have an independent policy, then I am sure, no country in the world least of all the Asian or African countries . . .

HON. MEMBER; $\backslash TX$ Ar_e you align ed? [1] (Interruption).

DR. GOPAL SINGH: No. It is the Chinese propaganda that we are aligned and it is the propaganda of some of our friends opposite.

AN HON. MEMBER: Do the Africans believe it?

DR. GOPAL SINGH: What could one do?

AN HON. MEMBER: Please do not disturb.

SHRI A. B. VAJPAYEE: Interruption is not disturbance.

SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA: it the Africans believe, that itself shows we are isolated.

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DR. **GOPAL** SINGH: No The Africans do not believe it. It is the propaganda that is being carried on not only the Chinese some friends and newspapers in this country that we are either getting more and more aligned or we should get mere a'ian-ed. It is that suspicion or fear in the minds of the Afro-Asian countries that is creating this kind of a misunderstanding. One factor wh.ch I would like to mention to the House in regard to the estrangement that is occurring between China and the Soviet Union is about the trade of China with Russia. The trade of the Soviet Union with China has dwindled from Rs. 790 crores in the year 1960 to Rs. 424 crores in 1961. This one fact should be enough io substantiate my point that China is getting more and more isolated. In every communist country China was denigrated as soon as China attacked India. The whole communist world, except for one or two little countries like North Korea and Albania, havebeen condemning China's attack on India.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have had your five minutes.

Dr. GOPAL SINGH: All rieht, thank you.

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2489 جب میں نے رزیر خارجہ کو سا تو مجه کافی دکهه هوا - وه نهیس بتا چائے۔ کیا یہ ان کی عی خارجه نیا ی هے جس کا نتیجہ هے که سوله برسوں سے هماری هواروں موبع میل زمین جو بھارت کا اگ ھے ازاد کشمیر کے نام پر ج تک پاکستان نے دیا راہی هے - کیا ان هي کي پاليسي کا يه كاسياب تتيجه هے كه كئى برسوں سے چين جو بوعتا چلا آ رها هے اور جس نے هاری هزاروں مربه میل زمین پر قبضه کو رکھا ہے کیا یہ انہیں کی پالیسی کا کامیاب نتیجه هے - اگر هم ناه دالیں ایے ارد کرد هم سایه مماک هيں چاهے سيلون برما هو پاکستان چائنا هو ان کے ساتھ، همارے تعلقات آے اس طرح کے نہیں میں جس طرح ماہو کی زندگی میں تھے - کئی برس هوائے پرانے قلعه میں ایشیائی قوموں کی جو کانفرنس ھوای تھی اور چو ان کی همارے لئے هم دردی تھی جو همارے ساتھ دائی پیار تھا کیا وہ آبے ہے ? نہیں ہے - کیا یہ بھی آپ کی پالیسی کا کامیاب تیجه هے ؟ اگر وہ زیاده دهیان دیں اور یه سوچیں که اچ هماری جو بهترین فوج هے جس کے بارے میں یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ یہ غفلت کی وجه سے هم چین کا اندازہ نہیں کر پائے اور یکایک اس نے ایسا حمله کر دیا جس سے همارے بهترین سپاهی هزاروں کی تعداد میں شہید ہو گئے - اس سے ہماری شان کو بتہ

لكا اور دمكا لكا كيا ية بهى أن كى فارن پالیسی کی کامیابی کا نتیجه ھے ۔ اس پر ان کا مان ھوا اور آقیشیل پاوٹی والے ان کو چیرس دیتے هیں - وناش کالے وپریت بدھی -جب بے دن آتے عیں تو بدسی نشت هو جاتي هيني - آج هم غور سے ديکهين که همارے کولمبو پاوپوزلس کا کیا حال مے وہ همارے سر ير لتک رها هے هم اس كو مانتے هيں -هم نے اپنی ۱٥ اکست ۱۹۳۷ع کی پوزیشن کو چهور دیا هے - آج هم ۸ ستمهر سله ۱۹۹۲ع کی چرچا کرتے میں صار چین والے اس کو کسی طرح مانفے کے لئے تیار نہیں هیں - تو کیا هم یه سمجهیں که جس طرح سے پاکستان نے همارے دیش پر زېردستى تېشه كر ركها هے زېردستى قبضه جمائے هوئے هے اور سوله برسوں سے کبھی ہو - این - او میں اس ک_ا چرچا جلتی هے یہاں بیٹھکھی هوتی كبهى وهال بيتهكين موتى هين ليكن پہر بھی هم ان سے واپس نہیں لے یائے تو کیا میں یہ سمجھوں که اسی طرح سے کولمبو پررپوزلس بھی ایک طوح سے یا دوسری طوح سے بوس ها برس تک همارے سروں پر لتکتے رهیں کے اور چائنا والے جس زیردستی سے هماری زمین پر قبضه جمائے بیٹھے هیں کیا وہ وهاں ہو اسی طوح سے جمے رهیں کے - میں سمجھتا هوں که همارى پاليسى بالكل قائمياب ثابت

International

Situation

[شرى عبد الغلي] ھوئی ھے - وزیر دفاع نے جو رپورت ھمارے ساملا رکھی ھے۔ اس کے ارپر يهاں پر چرچا كريں جس ميں همارے جرنیلوں کی کافی مذمت کی هے - نه صرف ان کی مذمت هوئی ھے بلکہ ہمارے پرائم سلستر کے جو بهترين دوست كرشلا ميلن سمجه جاتے هيں جو پہلے وزير دفاع تھے ان کی بھی مذمت ہوئی ہے - جب وہ ان کے استاف میں نبے فارن منستری کے تحصت تیے جس کا یہ کام نہا کہ دوسرے ملک والے چین والے کیا کام کر رہے میں ان کی کیا کیا ایکٹیوٹیز ھیں کیا کیا سرگرمیاں ھیں اس کے بارے میں جو نکته چینی هوئی ہے۔ اس سے بھی ان کی مذمت ہوئی -اگر میں اس رپورت کو ماثلت لفطوں میں کہوں تو وہ اس سرکار پر نو كنفرةنس هے جس كو اپوزيشن والے نهیں کو سکے - لیکن حقیقت تو حقیقت هے - اگرچه نیفا رپورت همارے پرائم منستر همارے وزیر خارجه اور هماری سرکاری پارٹی نه لائے - نیفا رپورت میں کیا ہے میز پر رکھنا چاھئے۔ اگر وہ یہ مانتی ہے که سپاھی جو نمے ان کی تریننگ اچھی تھی لیکن پہاڑی ٹریننگ نہیں تھی اکر یہ مانتی هے که سامان تو تهیک تها لهكن كم تها اكر وة مائتى هے كه چین کی تمام تیکتیز کا پته نهین چلا اگر ولا یه مانتی هے که هماری

سپلائی لائن تھیک نہیں تھی - اگر وہ یہ مانتی ہے راشاریتی کے لفظوں میں که یه ان کا بهولاپن اور غفلت تھی جو انہوں نے چین والوں پر اس طرح سے بھرو ، کیا - نو اس کے ماننے کے باوجود نیفا رپورٹ میں کونسی بات را جائی ہے جس کے آنے کے بارے میں ملک کو دعکا لگے کا اور هماری فوج آیمورلائز هو جائے کی -ایک بات رہ جاتی ہے کہ همارے تیننس منستر همارے فارن منستر اور همارے پرائم منستر کناه کار هیں که اس جنگ میں جو هماری شکست هوئي نيفا اور الدائم مين ايم انهين کی وجه سے هوئی اور کوئی وجه نهیں تهی که هماری فوج تیمورلائز هو -کیوں که یه وہ مانتے هیں که یه بهی تها وه بهی تها یه بهی هوا وه بهی هوا - لوکا شرابی هے جواهری هے پهر بھی اچھا ہے ، جب سب باتیں آگیئیں تو پھر رپورٹ کو لانےمیں کیا دقت ہے ۔ هم یقین کرتے هیں اور همارا دل مانتا هے که اس میں سوائے اس کے کہ یہ کہا جائے کہ اسکول کا ماستر ایک چپراسی سے کہتا ہے کہ اس اک لوکے کو نکال دو۔ همارے پردهان منتوی جی نے پریہ والوں کو کہا کہ میں نے فوج کو حکم دے۔ دیا ہے چیلیوں کو نکال دو مار کر مگو ان کے خلاف وردکت آیا ہے ۔ هم فرج کے ^نکیے جرنیلوں کی چرچا کرتے ھیں ۔

هم برابر کول کی اور دوسروں کی بدو نے ملک کا بہتم بتہایا اس کا يمان كرايا بهارت كا ايمان كرايا ان ير کافی نعتم چینی هوئی اور ان بوے بعے نیتاوں پر نکتم چیلی ہوگی -جلہوں نے همارے نام کو دھکا لکایا اور وہ گہبراتے میں کہ کہیں ان کے خلاف ايكه بن لها جائه -

सरदार रघुबीर सिंह पंचहजारी (पंजाब): ग्राप डिफेंस पर बोल रहे हैं या कोरेन पालिसी पर ?

شرى عبدالغنى: يه فارن پاليسى كا تتهجه هے که ملک کی هائی هوئی -یه فارن پالیسی کا نتیجه هے که همارے همساله ممالک هم سے دور هو۔ كيُّے - يه هماري فارن پاليسي كا نتيجه هے که پاکستان آج چین کی گود میں چلا گیا ہے - اس لئے که اس کو جرات هوئي كه هم سوله برس سے اپني زمین کو نہیں لے پائے اس لئے ولا چین کی گود میں چلا گیا - تو۔ کس کا نتهجه هے -? تیفلس ملستر نے جو کجھ کرنا تھا وہ تو ایک افیاو تربودر تها اس نے جو کچھ کیا همارے سامنے حقیقت بلکر ﴿ أَ كَيا كُم كس طرح سے سپاھیوں کے ساتھ غداری ھوئی اور کس طرح سے ھمارے دیھی کے ساتھ فداری ہوئی - کس طوح سے همارا سامان لوتا گیا اور کس طوح سے هدارا سامان برباد هوا - تو میں عرض کر رہا تھا کہ هماری سرکار کی ٹیتی کیا:

ہے جس کی یہاں چرچا ہو رہی ہے -مهدم دیای چیو میں - میں لیا کہوں جو جے بچے اور بہترین سفیر مانے جاتے هيں ولا امريكة؛ للدن، فراسى، ماسكو گهوملے جاتے هيں ليكن وہ جاتم جہاں همیں خطرہ ہے جہاں سے همیں دکھ پہنچلے کا خطرہ ہے وعاں جانے سے يه گهبراتے هيں - جو جاتے بھی هيں ولا أن كو صحيح انفارميشن نهيس دہتے - اگر صحیم انفارمیش ملی ھرثی که چین اس طرح سے بوھ رھا ہے اس طرح سے اس کی نیت خراب ہے (Time bell rings.) ميدم ديتي چيرمين-میں یقین کرتا هوں که کسی چیز کو رپیت نہیں کروں کا - میرے تین امیندمینت هیں ایک یه که ان کی نیتی فیل ہوئی اس لئے کہ چین نے جو دبا رکھا ہے وہ ان کو واپس نہیں ملا اور اس کے لئے وہ کچھ نہیں کر سکے -دوسوے یہ که پاکستان ہے جس نے هماری زمین دبا رکھی ہے - یہ کہتے تھے کہ هم صلح کی پالیسی رکھیں ئے - کیجئے صلے لیکن سولہ برس میں یہ زمین واپس نہیں لے سکے بلکہ جیسا کہتے هیں که کهسیانی باہی کہمبه توچے ویسے هی جب ان کو غصه آتا هے تو کہتے هیں که هدوستان میں ه كرور مسلمان هيس الر كشمهر ميس کچه هو گیا یا ریفرندم هو گیا تو ه کرور مسلمانوں کی حیثیت خطرہ سیں پر جائے کی ثانوی ہو جائیگی ۔

[شرى عبدالغذي]

یه کیا پالیسی کامیاب هے به کیا بات

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†श्री ग्रब्दल ग्रनी (पंजाव) : मैंडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, जब हमारे वजीरे खारजा, प्रधान मंत्री जी अपनी खारजा नीति पर बयान करने के लिये उठे तो सरकारी बैचों ने बड़े जोरों से तालियां बजाई । मैं यह समझा कि हमारे वजीरे खारजा से जो िमालय सी बड़ी गलती हुई है उसका यहां एतराज करने खड़े हुए हैं। लेकिन जब मैंने बजीरे खारजा को सुना तो मझे काफी दु:ख हुआ । वह नहीं बता पाये क्या यह उनकी ही खारजा नीति है जिसका नतीजा है कि १६ बरसों से हमारी हजारों मुख्बा भील जमीन जो भारत का ग्रंग है ग्राजाद काश्मीर के नाम पर श्राज तक पाकिस्तान ने दबा रखी है। क्या उन्हीं की पालिसी का यह कामयाब नतीजा है कि कई बरसों से चीन जो बढता चला आ रहा है और जिसने हमारी हजारों मरब्बा मील जमीन पर कब्जा कर रखा है क्या यह उन्ही की पालिसी का कामयाव नतीजा है । अगर हम निगाह डालें अपने इदंगिदं जो हम साया ममालिक है, चाहे सिलोन, बर्मा हो, पाकिस्तान, चाइना, हो उनके साथ हमारे ताल्लुकात ग्राज उस तरह के नहीं हैं जिस तर बाप की जिन्दगी में थे। कई बरस हए पराने किले में एशियाई कौमों की बो कांफ्रस हुई थी और जो उनकी हमारे लिये हमदर्दी थी जो हमारे साथ दिली प्यार था क्या वह ग्राज है ? नहीं है । क्या यह भी ग्रापकी पालिसी का कामयाब नतीजा है। अगर वह **ज्यादा ध्यान दें ग्रौर यह सोचें कि ग्राज हमारी** जो बेंटतरीन फौज है जिसके बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि यह गफलत की वजह से हम चीन का अन्दाजा नहीं कर पाये और यका-यक उसने ऐसा हमला कर दिया जिससे हमारे बेहतरीन सिपाही

तादाद में शहीद हो गये। इससे हमारी को बड़ा लगा और ध≄का लगा। क्या यह भी उनकी फोरेन पालिसी की कामयाबी का नतीजा है। इस पर उन का मान हम्रा और म्राफिशियल पार्टी वाले उन को चीयमं देते हैं। विनाशकाले विपरीत बढि। जब बरे दिन ग्राते हैं तो बद्धि नष्ट हो जाती है। ग्राज हम गौर से देखें कि हमारे कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल का क्या हल है। वह हमारे सर पर लटक रहा है। हम उस को मानते हैं। हम ने ग्रपनी १४ ग्रगस्त, १६४७ ई० की पोजीशन को छोड दिया है। ग्राज हम ८ सितम्बर, १६६२ ई० की चर्चा करते हैं मगर चीन वाले इस को किसी तरह मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। तो क्या हम यह समझें कि जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान ने हमारे देश पर जबरदस्ती कब्जा कर रखा है, जबरदस्ती कब्जा जमाये हए हैं, और १६ बरसों से कर्म य० एन० ग्रो० में इस की चर्चा चलती है, यहां बैठकें होती हैं कभी वहां बैठकें होती हैं लेकिन फिर भी हम उन से वापिस नहीं ले पाये तो क्या मैं यह समझं कि इसी तरह से कोलम्बो प्रोपोजल भी इसी तरह से या दूसरी तरह से बरसहाबरस तक हमारे सरों पर लटकते रहेंगे। ग्रौर चाइना वाले जिस जबरदस्ती से हमारी जमीन पर कब्जा जमाये बैठे हैं क्या वह वहां पर इसी तरह से जमे रहेंगे। मैं समझता हं कि हमारी पालिसी बिल्कुल नाकामयाब साबित हुई है। वर्जारे दफा ने जो रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने रखी है उसके ऊपर वहां पर चर्चा करें जिस ने हमारे जनरलों की काफी मुज्जमत की है। न सिर्फ उन की मुज्जमत हुई है बल्कि हमारे प्राइम-मिनिस्टर के बेहतरीन दोस्त कृष्ण मेनन समझे जाते हैं जो पहले वजीरे दफा थे उन की भी मुज्जमत हुई है जब वह उन के साथ में थे फारेन मिनिस्ट्री के तहत थे जिस का यह काम था कि दूसरे मुल्क वाले, चीन वाले क्या काम कर रहे हैं उन की क्या क्या एक्टोविटीज हैं, क्या क्या सर-गर्मियां हैं, उस के बारे में जो नुक्ताचीनी हुई है इस से भी उन की मुज्जमत हुई। अगर मैं इस रिपोर्ट को माइल्ड लफ्जों में कहं तो

वह इस सरकार पर नो-कानफिडेंस है जिस को अपोजीशन वाले नहीं कर सके । लेकिन हकीकत तो हकीकत है । ग्रगरचे नेफा रिपोर्ट हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर हमारे वजीरे खारजा ग्रौर हमारी सरकारी पार्टी न लाये। नेफा रिपोर्ट में क्या है मेज पर रखना चाहिये। अगर वह यह मानती है कि सिपाही जो थे उन की ट्रेनिंग ग्रच्छी थी लेकिन पहाड़ी ट्रेनिंग नहीं थी, ग्रगर यह मानती है कि सामान तो ठीक था लेकिन कम था ग्रगर वह मानती है कि चीन की तमाम टैक्टिक्स का पता नहीं चला, ग्रगर वह यह मानती है कि हमारी सप्लाई लाइन ठीक नहीं थी, श्रगर वह यह मानती है राष्ट्रपति के लफ्जों में कि यह उन का भोलापन था ग्रौर गफलत थी जो उन्हों ने चीन वालों पर इस तरह से भरोसा किया, तो इस को मानने के बावजूद नेफा रिपोर्ट में कौन सी बात रह जाती है जिस के ग्राने के बारे में मुल्क को धक्का लगेगा ग्रीर हमारी फौज डिमोरेलाइज्ड हो जायेगी। एक बात रह जाती है कि हमारे डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर, हमारे फोरेन मिनिस्टर, हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर गुनहगार हैं कि इस जंग में हमारी जो शिकस्त हुई नेफा श्रीर लहाख में यह उन्हीं की वजह से हुई ग्रीर कोई वजह नहीं थी कि हमारी फौज डिमोरेलाइज्ड हो । क्योंकि वह यह मानते हैं कि यह भी था बह भी था यह भी हुन्ना वह भी हुन्ना। लड़का शराबी है जुग्रारी है फिर भी अच्छा है। जब सब बातें ग्रागई तो फिर रिपोर्टको लाने में क्या दिक्कत है। हम यकीन करते हैं ग्रौर हमारा दिल मानता है कि इस में सिवाय इस के कि यह कहा जाय कि स्कूल का मास्टर एक चपरासी से कहता है कि इस एक लड़के को निकाल दो, हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने प्रैस वालों को कहा कि मैं ने फौज को हक्म दे दिया है कि चीनियों को निकाल दो मार कर। मगर उन के खिलाफ बरडिक्ट आया है । हम फौज के निकम्मे जनरलों की चर्चा करते हैं, हम बराबर कौल की ग्रौर दूसरों की जिन्हों ने मुल्क का भट्टा **बै**ठाया, इस का श्रपमान कराया, भारत का अपमान कराया उन पर काफी नुकता-

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चीनी हुई भ्रौर इन बड़े बड़े नेताओं पर नुकताचारी होगी, जिन्होंने हमारे न म को धक्का लगाय: श्रीर वह घबराते हैं कि कहीं उनके खिलाफ एक्शन न लिया जाये।

सरदार रघुत्रीर सिंह पंजर्जारी: (पंजाब) : ग्राप डिफेन्स पर बोल रहे हैं या फारेन पालिसी पर ?

श्री ग्रब्दुल ग्रनी: यह फारेन पालिसी का नतीजा है कि मुल्क की हानि हुई। यह फारेन पालिसी का नतीजा है कि हमारे हमसाया मुमालिक हम से दूर हो गये। यह हमारी फारेन पालिसी का नतीजा है कि पाकिस्तान म्राज चीन की गोद में चला गया है । इस**लि**ये कि उस को जुर्रत हुई कि हम १६ बरस से अपनी जमीन को नहीं ले पाये, इसलिये वह चीन की गोद में चला गया। तो किस कानतीजा है। डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर ने जो कुछ करनाथावह तो एक फैलो ट्रेवलर था, उस ने जो कुछ किया हमारे सामने हकीकत बन कर ग्रागया कि किस तरह से सिपाहियों के साथ गद्दारी हुई श्रौर किस तरह से हमारा सामान लुटा गया और किस तरह से हमारा सामान बरबाद हो गया। तो मैं ग्रर्ज कर रहा था कि हमारी सरकार की नीयत क्या है जिस की यहां चर्चा हो रही है। मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं क्या कहं जो बड़े बड़े ग्रौर बेहतरीन सफीर माने जाते हैं, वह अमरीका, वह लन्दन, फ्रान्स, मास्को घुमने जाते हैं लेकिन वह जगह जहां हमें खतरा है जहां से हमें दुख पहुंचने का खतरा है वहां जाने से यह घबराते हैं । वह जाते भी हैं, वह उन को सही इंफारमेशन नहीं देते । भ्रगर सही इन्फारमेशन मिली होती कि चान इ। तरह से बढ़ रहा है, इस तरह से उस की नियत खराब है (T me bell rings) मैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, मैं यकीन करता हं, कि किसी चीज को रिपोर्ट नहीं करूंगा। मेरे तीन ग्रमेंडमेंट हैं, एक यह कि उन की नीति फेल हुई इसलिये कि चीन ने जो दबा रखा है बह उन को वापिस नहीं मिला और इसके लिये वह कुछ नहीं कर सके।

दूसरे यह कि पाकिस्तान है जिस ने हमारी जमीन दबा रखी है यह कहते थे कि हम मुलाह की पालिसी रखेंगे। कीजिये मुलाह लेकिन १६ बरस में यह जमीन वापिस नहीं ले सके बिल्क जैसा कहते हैं कि खिस्यानी बिल्ली खम्बा नोचे, वैसे ही जब उन को गुस्सा प्राता है तो कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में ५ करोड़ मुसलमान हैं अगर काश्मीर में कुछ हो गया या रेफरेन्डम हो गया तो ५ करोड़ मुसलमानों की हैसियत खतरें में पड़ जायेगी, सानवी हो जायेगी, यह क्या पालिसी कामयाब है यह क्या बात है....

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THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time limit is over. Mr. Govinda Reddy.

شری عبدالغنی: تو میں ایک ! یات عرص درا چامکا هوں که . . . †श्री श्रव्दुल शनी : मैं एक बात शर्ज करना चाहता हं कि . . .]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have •ailed Mr. Govinda Reddy.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam Deputy Chairman, •oming last in the debate and in view of the time rationed out by you, I kave only a few remarks. Although •ur policy of non-alignment has not keen seriously assailed on the floor of the House today, still doubts have been expressed. I will take up the points made by Mr. Ruthnaswamy Irst.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR AU KHAN) in the Chair.]

Shri Ruthnaswamy thought that non-alignment was an ugly word and suggested neutrality instead. He pointed out that neutrality was derivative, it being derived from Ihe word neuter, and suggested the beauHful word 'neuter' and he perhaps wanted India, in international affairs, to be neuter? Is that his *onstructive suggestion? I thought be would make a very good suggestion. He was twitting our non-alignment policy by contrasting our

f[] Hindi transliteration.

sympathy with the Buddhists who are being persecuted in Viet-Nam with what he thought was a restriction imposed on Catholics in Ceylon. I wonder how he could make that comparison and twist non-alignment like that. Can he not see the difference between masses and masses of Buddhists, monks, nuns, children, being arrested and put within barbed wire camps and even shot at, their pagodas being taken, their monasteries being taken by the Government and the sort of restrictions of the Ceylon Government on Catholic schools from collecting some fund, supposing what he says to be true? I see that he has no sense of proportion at all to> think that we are sympathising with one thing and not, wrongly, sympathising with the other. This is totally out of the mark.

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha questioned whether this policy has any positive aspect at all. I would like to submit that it has a positive aspect. Shri Vajpayee said, "non-alignment, if it is this, if it is this then I am willing. It should not be this. If it is not this, I am for it." I must humbly point out that it is all that which he thinks, 'it is this, it is this', and it is not what he thinks, it is not. In another place; a very prominent gentleman with mellowed years on his back was almost ridiculing non-alignment. It is a positive policy and it has enured to the benefit of not only to India but to the good of the world. Any man with any political insight and one who can with intelligence analyse the political situation can find this out. We became a free sovereign State in 1947. Having become a free sovereign State, we attained soon after a unique position in international affairs by our policy of nonalignment. You cannot find, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in the whole history of the world any instance where a nation wh'ch was colonial, which was subiugated, was taken in eaual partnership in wo-rld* councils with the other nations in the-world. If we had joined the Western ¹ Bloc, what would have happened?

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Would we have attained that position? We would have, as some other Members have been pointing ' out, been members of the retinue of those big powers. Is it not a fact that even those big powers who had not so long ago empires have played second role m international affairs? Would we have played a greater role, a more vital role than these two big powers? If we had joined the other Bloc, what would we have been? We would have just been like the HMV. That is what we would have been but contrasted with this, what is our position today in international affairs? Even the bigger States have not only respected India's voice but they are even looking to India in some respects for guidance as has been the case in respect of Korea, in respect of the Indo-China States and in the matter of the Suez. In all these matters, India's Voice prevailed and India's voice has contributed to the easing of international tension. Mr. Vice-Chairman, when the world is divided, when big powers observe bloc politics or group politics then international tensions re bound to arise. If international tensi'ons do arise on account of the bloc politics, how can they be re-flolved? They cannot be resolved by ihese powers who are themselves indulging in bloc politics. There must lie some powers outside this bloc politics which can help resolve all this international tension. I think it is here that India has played a vital r'ole. She has taken an objective view of things. An objective, impartial view of things and approach should be brought to bear on international ten-sons and it is only that objective and impartial view that can resolve these international tensions. It is exactly that vital role that India has played. Therefore, I d'o consider that non-alignment has been a very positive policy, has paid dividends, has done good to India and has done good to the world. Mr. Murahari and other friends of his line of thinking talked about East Germany and Israel and were pointing out inconsistencies. They supposed that we were enemies

of East Germany and Israel. We are not their enemies. We are quite friendly with them, as has been pointed out by Sardar Gopal Singh. There have been exchanges between us and East Germany which is free to trade with us. Why should he think that just because we have not established diplomatic connections, we are inimical towards these countries, that our policy of non-alignment in their cases, is not true? Another point that was raised by Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha was that We should have thought better of China. Of course, but when we go to make friends with somebody or if somebody comes to make friends with us, we do not start with suspicion. We do not start by thinking or presuming that that man is feigning friendship. Consistent with our philosophy, with our traditions and with our culture and with our non-alignment policy, we believed China to be sincere in her professions of friendship. It is only when China proved faithless that we came to know. She has proved faithless not only towards India but she has proved faithless to Russia also. It was Russia that built up her industrial system, sixty or seventy major industries were started in China with Russian capital, worked out by her technicians and! gifted away to China but China did not remember that with gratitude and we all know what she is saying about Russia today. What did India do? It was India that brought moral prestige to China. India gave moral support to China. It is no wonder that such a faithless country should have betrayed India's friendship. There is n'o Doint in saying that we should have been wiser.

Is there any other speaker, Sir?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Yes, there are ' 11 two more.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Therefore. our taking China as a friend under those circumstances was not at all wrong. There is only one point

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.] that I wish to stress. I wish to submit to the Ministry of External Affairs and to the Prime Minister that our publicity work is very weak. As anyone who has gone to Europe and America and who has spoken to audiences there will say, there are many wrong impressions prevailing in those countries about India and we have done practically little to remove those impressions. When once I came and represented this it was said that we should not blow our own trumpet. I agree we may not blow our own trumpet but should we not remove wrong impressions prevailing there? There are interested countries and China is an instance which is carrying on virulent propaganda against India and should we not counter it? I think our Government must seriously consider starting a very strong propaganda organisation not to carry on propaganda but to carry On counterpropaganda. There is, Mr. Vice-Chairman, a fund of goodwill throughout the world for India. In America, in Europe, wherever you go, there is goodwill but it is unfortunate that we are not building up on this goodwill. We are n'ot taking this goodwill and using it as our capital. I would humbly suggest that they should give serious consideration to this and build up a very good educative propaganda machinery abroad.

Thank you.

SHRI B. D. KHOBARAGADE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to refer to the developments in South Viet-Nam. As a Buddhist myself, I am concerned about the persecution of Buddhists in South Viet-Nam. Not only myself; there are about two crores of Buddhists in this country, and they are all agitated about this. Only yesterday about 5,000 Buddhists from Delhi and surrounding areas took out a procession and staged a demonstration in front of the South Viet-Namese Embassy and demanded that

the Buddhists of that country must be granted all rights and freeaom of religion. It is very distressing that the Buddhists of South Viet-Nam are being discriminated against and also being persecuted. There is no freedom of religion; there is no equality and they have been suppressed in Government services. More facilities in education are given to the Catholics whereas facilities are denied to the Buddhists. The whole trouble in South Viet-Nam started on the 8th May and what was the reas'on for that? The Buddhists there wanted to fly their religious flag when they were celebrating the birth anniversary of Lord Buddha. But they were not allowed to do so though strangely enough three days prior to 8th May the brother of President Diem had been to the same place—the Archbishop brother of President-and the Catholics were allowed to fly their religious flags. If the Catholics are allowed to fly their religious flags why should not the Buddhists be allowed to fly their religious flags after three days? The Buddhists in the country protested against this injustice and discrimination. They staged demonstrations but instead of meeting their just demands the Diem Government took repressive measures. Firing took place and nine Buddhists had to sacrifice their lives. That is the origin of the trouble. After that it spread throughout the whole country. Monks after monks and nuns after nuns burnt themselves in protest against the barbarous methods, of the Diem Government. I am glad to learn that our Prime Minister is taking interest in this matter. He has already written to the President of South Viet-Nam drawing his attention to the lot of Buddhists in that country. This morning the Prime Minister has declared that if there is any conference of the Buddhist nations our country would participate in such a conference and would try to do everything possible to redress the grievances of Buddhists in that country. He also said that perhaps this question might be referred to the

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Apart from referring this question to the United Nations I think the best thing is to persuade the South Viet-Nam Government and to persuade the United States Government to use its good offices to redress the grievances of tke Buddhists. In South Viet-Nam the Diem Government is being sustained with the help of America. One million dollars are being poured every day there. About 14,000 American troops are stationed in South Viet-Nam so that the dictatorial rule of President Diem could be continued. Sir. I would like to mention one thing here. South Viet-Nam has got a very strategic importance in South East Asia. Already there are some signs, some indications of civil war. Not only today but about two or three months back the Catholic officers and the Buddhist had started dining separately. Their messes were separated. Not only that, but a few days back we heard that there were some clashes among the Catholic army and the Buddhist army. This would definitely lead to a civil war in that country. In the north the Communist forces are waiting for an opportunity to attack South Viet-Nam and if we do not take proper action, if we do not take effective steps in time, perhaps we will be encouraging China and the Communist forces to march into South Viet-Nam and perhaps it may lead to the fall of South Viet-Nam. And what happens if South Viet-Nam falls? If South Viet-Nam falls it will endanger the security of the whole of South East Asia. Cambodia, Laos, Malaya and Thailand, these are the countries whose independence and freedom will be threatened by such a development.

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Sir, we have to respect the feelings and sentiments of Buddhists all over the world. Not only in India, as I have mentioned, the Buddhists are agitated on this issue but Buddhist all over the world are definitely agitated on this issue. Therefore in the interests of the freedom-loving countries it is essential that we try to get the support of Buddhists in South East Asia. We cannot ignore the feelings of Buddhist nations in South East Asia. Therefore it is up to the American Government to remove the Diem Government and restore all those privileges and facilities to the Buddhists.

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Sir, now coming to our border issue, I would like to refer to one or two things. The Colombo proposals have grown into a stalemate. There has been no progress at all. We accepted the Colombo proposals long before and we expected that the Chinese Government would accept these proposals. Unfortunately they have not accepted them and we are still depending on these Colombo proposals. The Chinese Government did ' not accept these Colombo proposals; on the contrary they have recently concentrated a larger number of troops on our border and they have re-occupied the area which they had voluntarily vacated. Apart from that during the past two or three months there have been continuous intrusions into our air space. It means that the Chinese intentions are a bit dangerous and it also means that they do not want to accept these Colombo proposals. So, I would like to know from the Government and the Tion Prime Minister as to what steps the> are taking to remove the Chinese forces from our land. They should take immediate steps towards that end; that is the only thing that I can urge at this moment. I am glad that we have got the support of the United States Government. It has been very kind of the United States Government that they have declared to give military aid to us and they have taken certain steps in this direction.

[Shri B. D. Khobaragade.] I am referring to the joint air exercises. They have already said 6 P.M. that they would send their planes and they would give us radar equipment. It is very essential that we should have radar equipment. But I am sorry that the American and British Governments are giving this aid rather grudgingly and haltingly as it appears. We had appfoached these two Governments in last November saying that they should give us certain equipment so that in case there was any air attack by China we could this country effectively. Unfortunately, as it is they have taken nearly one year, because the joint air exercises will start in the first week of November only. Apart from that, we are getting only F-86 and F-100 planes. We are not getting F-104 fighters. They are most up to date and are supersonic fighters with great speed. Moreover, our Army personnel in this country will be concerned only with radar equipment. They will get training about radar equipment only. They will not get any training so far as plying of supersonic jets are concerned. Therefore, it is very essential that our Government should persuade the American Government and see that we get proper training not only in handling radar equipment but also training about supersonic fighters. It is not a question of getting military aid from America or Britain. I am happy to note that the communique issued by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan assures us that they will definitely help India in case there is aggression from China. We are very happy about this.

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At the same time if we can get any help or aid from the Soviet Government, we should try to get it. Unfortunately we got only a few MIG planes so far. Now, there is a change in the international situation. About one year back when the Chinese had attacked us, we approached Soviet Russia for aid. The Soviet Government's reply was that China

was their brother, while India was their friend. Today the situation has Changed. Now, China is no more Soviet Russia's brother, China no more considers Soviet Russia as its brother. In view of the changed relations, it is better for Russia also to offer every possible help to India. It will be not only in the interests of the security of India, but ultimately it will also be in the interests and security of Russia. Therefore, I would urge that Soviet Russia also gives us proper help.

I will refer to our relations with Pakistan and finish in two or three minutes. So far as Pakistan is concerned, we have been trying to settle this issue amicably, but unfortunately we could not come to any understanding. I think ultimately the responsibility for this should be placed on the shoulders of Pakistan. When we sent our representative, Sardar Swaran Singh, to discuss the whole matter, on the very first day Pakistan chose the opportunity to make public the Sino-Pakistani agreement regarding the surrender of territory in Kashmir. which legally belongs to India. There was no point in publishing this particular agreement on that day. Secondly, we have noticed that during the past two or three days there has been some agreement regarding air services also. It means that to spite India Pakistan is trying to develop friendlier relations -with China. It means that Pakistan does not want to settle her disputes with India but wants to co-operate with China. So far as the question of Kashmir is concerned, definitely we would like to solve it because if we want to defend our country against Chinese aggression, it is very essential that we should have friendly relations with Pakistan. But by solving the Kashmir question only we will not be able to develop friendly relations with Pakistan. If we want to develop friendly relations with Pakistan it is very essential that we should try to solve all outstanding disputes. Therefore, I would urge on those Powers, who are trying to solve this issue that

they should take up the matter with the Pakistan Government and persuade them to settle all outstanding disputes. Recently in a statement on the Indo-Pakistan dispute the hon. Prime Minister had stated that whatever concessions were given to Pakistan during the course of the negotiations have been withdrawn. It does not matter if they are withdrawn at the moment. But if we have to start negotiations again, if we are going to talk with the Pakistan Government to settle all outstanding disputes, then, I think our Government will consider this question again and grant all the concessions which they had offered previously. Because it would facilitate and help in solving the problem of Kashmir and would lead to better relations with Pakistan.

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Therefore, I will only say, in view of these developments-international as well as developments on our borders-we should try to develop friendly relations with all the countries.

Unfortunately, we have not been able to do so. We have learnt that Ceylon has granted certain facilities and privileges to China to use her naval bases in Ceylon. We have learnt that Britain also had sold planes to China. Recently we have learnt that Britain has sold certain strategic equipment which would be useful to China in developing nuclear weapons. This is not good. If these nations go on supporting and helping China in this way. it would ultimately jeopardise our own defence and, therefore, we should try to get the sympathies of all friendly countries. Thank you.

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THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Tariq is not here. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

> The House then adjourned at seven minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 3rd September, 1963.